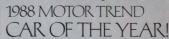


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THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

COVER: Jackson as front runner changes 12 the presidential race—and the nation

For the first time in U.S. history, a major political party grapples with one of the biggest what-ifs of all: What if voters actually nominate a black man for President? What, exactly, does Jackson stand for? Taking Jesse seriously means seriously

scrutinizing his ideas and holding him accountable for his past. ▶ Voices of white voters who like Action Jackson, See NATION.



NATION: Fed up with Ed Meese's troubles, 25 six high Justice officials quit their posts

The Attorney General hangs tough despite growing concern about his conduct among his aides and in Congress. Ethical questions aside, a special prosecutor sees no indictable offense. A congressional task force points to an alarming shortage of housing and pleads for federal dollars to build more. ▶ The Reagans lease a \$2.5 million retirement home in posh Bel Air.



MUSIC: Women violinists of talent and temperament invade a male preserve

Anne-Sophie Mutter and Viktoria Mullova head a wave of female performers that also includes Kyung-Wha Chung, Nadia Salerno-Sonnenberg and Midori. They are ebullient and intense, fiery and formidable; when they play, the intoxicating perfume of the theater fills the air. "Music is a form of love, the highest form of love," says Mutter. "It is passion."



32

Shultz presses on with his Palestinian peace plan. Noriega shows he is still the boss. ▶ In China, two speeds ahead for reform.

Profile

Tibet's Dalai Lama is a remote, otherworldly God-King, yet he is leading 6 million of his countrymen in a struggle for freedom

Economy & Business Technology As major retailers grapple for survival in an overcrowded marketplace, the battle for the Federated chain ends in a split decision

63

Living Determined to protect themselves and their homes, more women are buying guns and learning how to shootbut are they any safer?

The union of the computer and the compact disc puts the world on a silver platter "Viruses" give the

Education Stanford's faculty revises its Western Civilization requirements, as universities debate the nature and merit of the great-books canon.

Religion

Defying a one-year suspension, Jimmy Swaggart puts the spotlight on the Assemblies of God, the U.S.'s fastestsoftware industry a chill. growing church group.

Theater

With a third Broadway opening, High School Dropout August Wilson is the foremost dramatist of the U.S. black experience

4 Letters 56 Press

57 Ethics **63 Milestones**

67 Sport

69 Cinema 72 Design 73 Rooks

75 Food 78 Video 80 People

Cover: Illustration by Richard Mantel

Introducing a luxury car tire engineered on the premise that you can't get by on good looks alone.

The new Goodyear Double Eagle.

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A Letter from the Publisher

You all know the fellow on the left, but the one with the notebook is probably a little less familiar. He is John Parmelee, 17, a high school senior in the District of Columbia who saw his dream come true last week when he interviewed Ronald Reagan in the Oval Office. "He put me at ease immediately." Parmelee said. The student spent ten minutes with the President, asking him, among other things, how life had been different when Reagan was 17. "I wasn't doing what you're doing," the President said with a smile to his White House visitor.

Parmelee's session with the President was part of Odyssey Project, a joint endeavor of Time Inc. and the District of Columbia public schools. The program's participants discuss heroes in literature. then write profiles of Washington notables whom they admire This year the ten students who took part in the project picked, among others, a city official, a sports star-and one U.S. President. After choosing Reagan last winter, Parmelee was astonished when his interview was granted. His article on the Presi-

dent, including pictures by Odyssey Student Photographer Marta Effinger, will appear in Looking for Heroes, the Odyssey Project magazine. The program's purpose is to improve students' writing skills

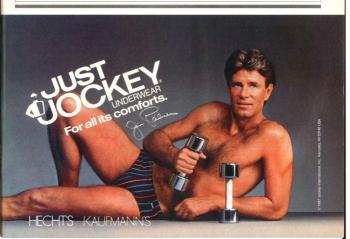
Heroic Odyssey: Parmelee with the President

while at the same time introducing them to the world of publishing. Nearly two dozen Time Inc. volunteers work with the students. "I find the sessions are often as helpful to me as they are to the kids," says Washington Correspondent David Beckwith, who conducted workshops and edited several profiles when he was not covering George Bush on the campaign trail. "They tend to ask the fundamental 'why' questions that force you to go back and examine things you normally take for granted.

The Odyssey Project, now in its third year, complements the company's Time to Read program, through

which TIME employees have tutored hundreds across the country. "Odyssey leaves room for a lot of creativity," says Sean Rilev. 18, who plans to profile Redskins Quarterback Doug Williams. "What you write about is up to you, and you have to learn to be independent." More students may soon learn firsthand what Riley means: Washington school officials are considering expanding the Odyssey Project concept so that special training in writing skills will be available to all of the district's students.

Robert L. Miller.





Poverty is hunger and a little girl growing old too fast.

Elena is barely six. But hunger and despair have already left their mark on her little face Living in a crowded hut with

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Letters

Bush Momentum

While the Democrats are busy trying to find a suitable nominee for the November election, the Republicans have given the American people a real candidate and a clear choice [NATION, March 21]. Three cheers for the next President of the U.S., George Bush.

Duane Foote Kalamazoo, Mich.



This man will be able to unite the Republican Party and assure his election as President by choosing the best nominee for his running mate that the G.O.P. has to offer: Elizabeth Dole

Paul Andrews Sansbury III Spartanburg, S.C.

Bush has to stop riding on Ronald Reagan's coattails and answer some serious questions on how he would reduce the deficit and about his involvement in the Iran-contra scandal.

Paul M. Kellstedt Grand Rapids

The Jackson Ticket

Jesse Jackson for President; Albert Gore for Vice President [NATION, March 21]. If Jackson can identify the problems and articulate them, he can assign the "follow-through" to Gore, whose "fascination with technological details" is matched by "keenness and a narrowness of mind." That combination would at least get the country started in solving the real problems of the globe

Maxine Schwanke Cedar Falls, Iowa

I voted for Jackson in the 1984 primary to help crack that glass ceiling you wrote about. I support him this time because I want him to be President. I am not a poor, ethnic, blue-collar Democrat. I am a white, professional, middle-income Democrat. I am appalled at the devastation the Reagan Administration has

wrought upon the poor. The country must learn to accept the fact that moral issues like poverty and homelessness are the responsibility of all its citizens.

Jackie Busseri Elmhurst, Ill.

Deafening Call

The students at Gallaudet University for the deaf got their wish [EDUCATION, March 21]. They forced the resignation of a well-qualified president of the university and the chairwoman of the board of trustees, both of whom had committed the unspeakable crime of being able to hear. This is a good example of how mob rule can win over reason. A college official of high rank needs to be able to represent the school to the outside world on an equalto-equal basis. A hearing president who knows sign language would have been able to do a good job.

Ramon A. Jimenez Jr. Laurel, Md.

My thanks go to the students of Gallaudet University not only for demanding to have a deaf president but also for saying that every deaf person has a right to a role model. This episode points up the paternalism that exists in most schools with programs for the deaf. Our hearing teachers say they "know what's best" for us. In employment situations, deaf people are often overlooked for promotion and are told they are not competent. Experience shows this is not true Kathy Jones Weldon, Vice Chairperson

Governor's Committee for Disabled Persons Houston

Criticizing Israel

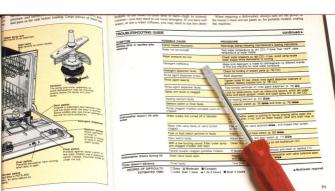
In response to Roger Rosenblatt's bemoaning Americans' reluctance to criticize Israeli policies [ESSAY, March 21], I submit it's not fear of anti-Semitism or lack of conscience that silences us. It is deep concern over the real threat to Israel's existence. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is admonished for refusing to deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization in peace negotiations. It is not peace its members are pursuing but the dissolution of the state of Israel.

Bebe Holtzman Monticello, N.Y.

It is shameful that Prime Minister Shamir is unwilling to open a window on talks with the P.L.O. Israel walks the path toward further violence, brutality and loss of world support if the country will not discuss peace.

Elizabeth Metz

Israel is not well served by Americans who tirelessly propagandize for it. The country would be much better off if its friends would allow the truth to be told



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he takes us places we've never seen before with the first realistic motion picture about the war against street gangs.

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Director of Photography HASKELL WEXLER, A.S.C. Screenplay by MICHAEL SCHIFFER Story by MICHAEL SCHIFFER and RICHARD DILELLO Produced by ROBERT H. SOLO

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Letters

and let Congressmen vote their conscience without the threat of being called anti-Semitic. Then Israel would have to observe the human rights of Palestinians and give them the "individual rights and expression" that Mr. Rosenblast says are Jewish values. It would even have to work for amity with its neighbors. At that moment Israel would find the peace that so many of its true friends desire.

Marvin J. LaHood Buffalo

Concern over Assassination

As president of United Artists in 1961. I did not object to the making of The Manchurian Candidate because the story was surreal, as you reported [CINEMA, March 21]. My reservation was totally based on the fear of doing a disservice to President Kennedy by approving a story on the political assassination of a presidential candidate, even though at that time such a story seemed unrealistic. Frank Sinatra's message that the President had no objection to the project caused me to reverse my position. After President Kennedy was assassinated, a pall naturally set in over continued exploitation of the movie. The decision not to distribute the film widely had absolutely nothing to do with an alleged financial dispute with United Artists. The passage of time now allows us to judge the picture on its creative merits, which are considerable. However, it was genuine concern that initially delayed the approval of the project, and a tragic event that subsequently curtailed its theatrical circulation. Arthur B. Krim

Arthur B. Krim New York City

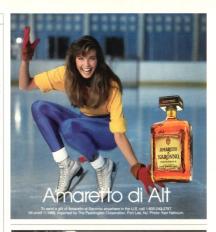
Service to the Reader

TIME's easy acceptance of a direct competitor's slur on the editorial integrity of Whittle publications [PRESS, March 21] is outrageous. Our advertisers do not determine our editorial content, and as a matter of policy we do not accept "advertorials"-advertising that imitates an editorial format. Far from being "the least of Whittle's concerns," serving the reader has been, is and will be the ultimate source of our publications' extraordinary success in the marketplace. Any competitor who bases his strategy on the belief that Whittle's new series of magazines for doctors' waiting rooms, Special Reports, will be anything but lively journalism is in for a shock

William S. Rukeyser, Editor in Chief Whittle Communications Knoxville

Eviction Figures

The review of Jonathan Kozol's book Rachel and Her Children is wrong about number of evictions in New York City and their contribution to homelessness [Books, Feb. 8]. Evictions have never







This past spring I had the most perfect seven days of my life. Those seven lave were soon to ward your carys Richey Arnala Colorado.

are never felt so proposed ... We have been naving-about the Oruse to anyone who will list on the face are so super. The famile

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JONE OF NORWAY LAST WEEK IAR COMPELED TO TELL YOU. OUR WEEK WAS ADJOINTED FANTASTIC! FROM THE SECOND WE COME ABOAND TO THE TIME WE LEFT (JADLY) EVERYTHING WAS JUST EXCELLENT.

ONE PERSON WHO WENT OUT OF HIS WAY

Dale F. Smith. Carmel, New York.

I now know way Royal is it you wan Rayal Barberian. Pruise him. Because we were treated like ROYALTY:

Alberta Humbert Springham Okio

My wife recently said "I wouldn't travel any other cruise line", I heartily agree.

Herman J. Hebbeler. Morris Plains, New Jersey.

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Gene and Peggy Lagnese. Rochester, New York

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Genny Frost. Grand Rapids, Michigan

I have now written a "Fan letter" before but ful that the cruise on the song of norway descross it.

must admit that I am at a box for brown. Everything, mealing accommodation, facilities, even and staff were fearless.

Marion Gillmer. Trenton. New Jersey.

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Shirley Ryan. Arlington Heights, Illinois

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Letters

"totaled nearly half a million" in any year. Court records do indicate roughly 25,000 of them last year, including those of commercial tenants. Blaming homelessness on evictions implies that greedy landlords are to blame for the entire problem. Several studies show that many homeless families were most recently "evicted" by friends and relatives with whom they had been staying. The issue is not how to keep poor people from being removed from their homes; it is how the government can better provide the subsidies necessary to house them

Dan Margulies, Executive Director Community Housing Improvement Program, Inc. New York City

Investing in Space

I believe TIME is wrong to advocate a greatly reduced U.S. space effort in its budget proposal to cut the U.S. deficit [ECONOMY & BUSINESS, Feb. 29]. The technologies the U.S. can master through experience in space exploration will be essential in allowing us to compete in the future in such diverse disciplines as biotechnology and biomedicine; metallurgy; new optical and electronic materials for applications in high-speed computing and communications; robotics; and new fuels. If we cut back on funds for space today, we risk becoming an also-ran power in the 21st century

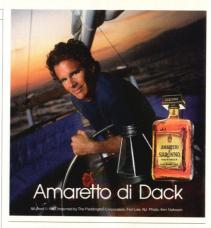
Sam F. Iacobellis. President Aerospace Operations Rockwell International Corp. El Segundo, Calif.

Money to Run

People complain about the rising cost of political campaigns just as they do about the rising cost of everything else [NATION, March 7]. But we spend less money choosing our Senate and congressional representatives than we do on dog food, alcohol or illegal drugs. With rare exception, campaign expenditures measure the quality of competition and the level of public participation through small, disclosed contributions. Spending limits in presidential elections have been a total failure, making every major candidate a lawbreaker, forcing millions of campaign dollars underground and wasting one out of four of the taxpayer's dollars on legal and accounting fees. Election spending is a worthwhile investment in our democratic form of government and should be encouraged, not regulated and restricted by the federal bureaucracy.

Mitch McConnell U.S. Senator, Kentucky Washington

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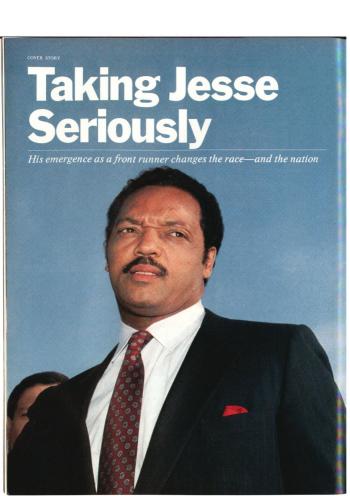
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AMARETTO SARONNO. Amaretto di Legere







TIME/APRIL 11, 1988

Any American child can grow up to be President.

That idealistic sentiment began as part of the catechism of democracy, but through generations of rote it has degenerated into a kindergarten fable. Adults, of course, know the truth. The presidency is reserved for white men who have held high office and who have almost always avoided embracing a cause or expressing a sentiment that is far outside the mainstream of established oninion.

But there are rare moments when the truths that seemed self-evident begin to be re-examined. The recalibration is a slow process, and it does not always immediately lead to dramatic consequences. Still, just the act of toying with a previously unimaginable possibility leaves an indelible mark. Even if the surface of life goes on pretty much as before, a seed has been planted that may someday bloom.

And so it is in the spring of 1988 with the campaign of Jesse Jackson. Twenty years after the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., a disciple of the civil rights martyr has seized the crown of Democratic front runner. Jackson was not merely an acolyte; he was the impetuous rebel in King's official family, the one who appeared on television the day af-

ter the shooting wearing a bloody shirt and boldly—and inaccurately—claiming that it was he, Jesse, who cradled the dying Martin in his arms. Now exactly two decades after the death of the man who fought for the right to vote, Jackson is demanding the political rights that come with those votes And so, for the first time in the nation's history, a major political party was grappling with one of the biggest what-ifs of all: What if Democratic voters actually nominate a black man for President?



Martin Luther King in 1960

That question would be explosive if the contender were a safe token, a man who had held all the right offices, adopted all the sensible positions, and differed from the majority's norms only by the accident of his race.

norms only by the accusion of instace. But this contender challenges all the established verities at once. For Jackson, the illegitimate son of a tenage mother, is a fiery preacher who rose to national prominence through controversy and tumult, and he now heads a left-wing populist movement that confronts the centrist assumptions of political life.

Such a nomination would have been unthinkable four years ago. Indeed, it was unthinkable just two weeks ago. But then Jackson's makeshift coalition of innercity blacks, imperiled autoworkers, college students and affluent liberals swept the Michigan caucuses with 55% of the vote (the highest of any Democratic can-

didate outside his home state) and humbled the party flavorite, Michael Dukakis. The electrifying magnitude of this Rust Bet rebellion gave the preacher-politibest rebellion gave the preacher-politiinescential elegate arithmetic that showed Jackson running neck and neck with Dukakis for the lead. At week's end the fast-shifting delegate to the board gave fore stalled in third place with 381.

While his conventional rivals increasingly seemed tepid, technocratic and tedious, Jackson was fueled by that most elusive of political energy sources: true momentum. It was that quality, along with his popular vote lead in the primaries, that earned Jackson the sobriquet box cualition, was reality, not rhetoric, as white voters enlisted in the Jackson crusade to tear down racial barriers. Even









Creating a frenzy with a teenage crowd at Napie

Nation

though Dukakis handily won last week's Connecticut primary, 2 to 1, network exit polls gave Jackson roughly 20% of the white vote. This Tuesday's Wisconsin primary provides another tough test: Jackson was campaigning hard and holding his own in a state with a minuscule 3% black voting-age population.

All this was merely a prelude to the coming titunis: struggle in the April 19 New York primary. Governor Mario Comor nemains determinedly on the side-tray, there is a growing acknowledgment that he has no intention of playing party savior—at least before the convention. The company of the convention of the convention

In the days immediately following Michigan, the Jackson campaign was in-fused with a front runner's frenzy. Victory and the first trainer is sufficient to the first trainer in the first trainer believed had died with Bobby Kennedy in 1968. Crowds mushroomed to unmanageable and chaotle size. Supporters all but on the first trainer is supported by the first trainer in the first trainer in the first trainer in the first trainer in the first trainer. It is the first trainer in the first trai

When Jackson campaigned in New York City, two separate groups of acolytes, maybe 500 each time, spontaneously gathered on sidewalks to stare at buildings in which he was holding meetings. Hundreds of supporters chased their champion down a dark street after night-fall on the north side of Milwaukee. Telephone calls iammed the switchboards at

Jackson headquarters, and contributions poured into the congenitally ill-funded campaign at the rate of \$60,000 a day. Small wonder that the populist preacher said with smiling satisfaction, "There is a kind of Jackson-action fever in the air."

Along with the fever came the growing perception that the Democratic Party has been unalterably changed, regardless of the identity of the eventual nominee. Destroyed almost overnight were years of maneuvering by Democratic moderates to recast the party in a nonideological, centrist mode. Even if Jackson is not the nominee, his voice and his delegates will almost inevitably shape the party platform. But as important as the message are the changed attitudes toward the messenger. Until Michigan, few white Democratic leaders actually took Jackson seriously as a possible nominee. They purported to publicly, but privately consigned him to the subordinate role of campaigning energetically for the Democratic ticket in the fall. There was always a patronizing undertone to these backstairs debates over the price of Jackson's support. Even the great white question "What does Jesse want?" had a condescending ring. It was almost as if the Democrats planned to offer Jackson pomp and hoped he would not look too closely at the circumstances behind it.

ut part of the respect accorded to be front runners is the respect of the front runners is the respect of the fine bed accountable. Jackson had, until last week, been subjected to the insuit of kindness and deference. positions and proposals and past activities that might have opened another candidate to unrelenting abowe were treated gingerly by opponents and the press. Partly it was on the theory that Jackson could never do not be the pressure of the press

and inspiring to his supporters that the lapses in factual details seemed irrelevant. Now Jackson has won the right to be held to a tougher standard, and he will be.

There were signs that Jackson, having come within sight of the mountaintop, now risked tumbling down the other side. The candidate, and the campaign that he had formed in his image, appeared almost lost in reverie. Jackson began making unscheduled appearances and last-minute schedule changes, dropping by Bill Cosby's Manhattan town house for a few hours to chat with Stevie Wonder and Debbie Allen. This return to the freewheeling style of the 1984 campaign was an indication that overconfidence has become an occupational hazard within the Jackson entourage. Even as hopes soared, there was no overall campaign strategy other than to continue to let Jesse be Jesse. "They think they've won," said a Jackson adviser. "They've declared victory. They may just rest on their laurels and blow this thing. Jackson was, nonetheless, adroit at

harressing the symbolism that came with his new status. He arranged a Washington breakfast with a mixed group of Democratic out-of-power brokers, who gathered under the agiss of that venerable presidential confidant Clark Clifford. The presidential confidant Clark Clifford. The tion of the party establishment to publicly best Jackson as an acceptably respectable would-be nominee, but there were almost no elected officials present who might actually have to run on the same might actually have to run on the same and the properties of the properties

Jackson dodged one impolite question about his prior relationship with Black Muslim Leader Louis Farrakhan, an intemperate and anti-Semitic hatemonger. But otherwise those at the Clifford coffee klatch put on their best company behavior; they even dutifully laughed when Jackson snidely dismissed offers of help from aides to fallen presidential rivals





North High School in Illinois

ng at a power breakfast with Willie Brown, Clark Clifford and Ann Lewis

with the line "Sometimes you can make energy from trash." As one breakfast clubber said in summing up the faction's reaction to Jackson, "Liberals like to be abused like this once in a while. It's an easy way of showing how tolerant we are."

That same turn-the-other-cheek liberalism, that deep reluctance to directly confront Jackson, a black man, continued to plague Michael Dukakis. The morning after the Connecticut primary, the victorious Massachusetts Governor appeared with Jackson on the Today show. Jackson immediately seized control by congratulating Dukakis, then adding dismissively, "You did well with your home-field advantage." Dukakis laughed nervously and fell silent. The incident was an apt symbol for the Dukakis dilemma: the need for the earnest gears-and-levers technocrat to combat the powerful passions of a black preacher Although Dukakis has been some-

what emboldened by adversity, his critiques of Jackson remain oblique and limited. When pressed, Dukakis points out that he dissents from some of Jackson's stands, such as advocacy of a Palestinian homeland. But though the Governor once grew adept at trading invective with Richard Gephardt, now he will only gingerly compare his record with Jackson's.

using lines like "I don't just talk about jobs; I've helped create them.

For a candidate as well known as Dukakis, it would be impossible and probably foolhardy to try to reinvent himself this late in the campaign. All Dukakis' handlers can do is rejigger the campaign themes and rewrite the stump speech in an effort to narrow the passion gap. At Serb Hall in Milwaukee, Dukakis unveiled the architecture of his revamped message. "I don't want to be known as the Great Communicator," he declared with little fear of being challenged on this prophecy. "I want to be known as a Great Builder." It is a clunky but apt moniker for a candidate who remains closer in spirit to Robert Moses than to Robert Kennedy. "People are maybe less interested in charisma and a lot more interested in somebody who can go in there and really provide the kind of presidential leadership we need." Dukakis told TIME. "I am what I am. I'm not somebody else."

But is that enough? After Michigan. there is some question whether the Democrats who care enough to vote in primaries and participate in caucuses will settle for Dukakis, the jelly maker, when they can have Jackson, the tree shaker. By failing to win a major contest outside New

England since Super Tuesday, Dukakis cracked the axle on his bandwagon. Indirect negotiations with Cuomo over an endorsement were broken off after the Michigan debacle. Dukakis remains by far the party's most plausible nominee, but only if he can rebound in Wisconsin. New York and the later primaries. Dukakis still holds formidable advantages in terms of money, organization and the goodwill of party leaders. But the terrain is littered with the wreckage of other campaigns that boasted every asset except a compelling message to motivate voters.

ad Albert Gore announced on the morning after the March 8 Super Tuesday primaries that he planned to take the rest of the month off, there would have been hoots of derision. In hindsight, three weeks at the beach would have been almost as effective. and far less costly, than the campaign Gore waged. After squandering an estimated \$320,000 on TV ads in Illinois and Connecticut, Gore remained the king of the single digits by failing to score over 10% in two successive primaries

Like Dukakis, Gore suffers from an inability to utter a phrase or advance a proposal that sparks a visceral response in

Embracing his wife Jackie in Alabama



Playing in a pickup basketball game in Iowa



Evoking campaign tradition in New York



Nation

Democratic voters. "There has been no real focus, no consistency," says an official of the Democratic Leadership Council, a centrist group sympathetic to Gore's candidacy. "He has been lurching from issue to issue and lacking an encompassing theme that would tell you who Al Gore is and what his principles are."

But where Dukakis clings to the caution of an erstwhile front runner, Gore offers a strategic boldness born of desperation. His target is the upcoming New York primary and, in particular, the nearly one-quarter of the state's Democrats who are Jewish. Gore's newfound issue, as so often happens with underdog candidates in New York, is the fervor of his largely uncritical support for Israel. Gore, who is developing an unhealthy instinct to pander, has attacked Dukakis for endorsing a letter signed by 30 Senators (five of them Jewish) criticizing the Israeli government's refusal to negotiate over the return of occupied territories

With his back to the wall, Gore was not content to squabble just with Dukakis.

Instead, the Tennessee Senator became the first Democratic candidate in either 1984 or this year to grant Jackson the honors that come with full candidate equality: a no-holds-barred attack on his record. Speaking before a Jewish group in New York City, Gore declared, "I categorically reject his notion that there is a moral equivalence between Israel and the P.L.O. I am dismayed by his embrace of Arafat and Castro." But there was another, even more explosive sentence in an earlier speech that day, one that Gore's aides later regretted not excising from the text. "We're not choosing a preacher, Gore said, "we're choosing a President.

In context, the sentence expressed a pointed criticism of Jackson's lack of traditional qualifications for the presidency. But the reaction illustrates the difficulties Democrats face in holding Jackson to the same standards as other candidates. "The unfortunate thing is that the line might give off the appearance of being racist, which is certainly not what Gore intended," said a nervous campaign adviser. Jackson's ini-

tial response was artful: "When Gore said in several debates that he would endorse me if I were the party's nominee, he knew of my vocation at that time." The ire of Jackson's advisers was far more explicit. Campaign Manager Gerald Austin went out of his way to tell reporters, on the record, that Gore was a "chickens..."

There was a complex element of Kabuki drama to the sniping between Gore and Jackson. There is an odd symbiotic link between the two candidates in the New York primary, since Jackson is more likely to win if Gore does well. A little primary math helps explain this peculiar convergence of self-interest. In 1984 Jackson, then a far more polarizing candidate. won 26% of the New York vote. If this time Jackson combines 95% of the black vote with 20% of the white vote, he will end up with more than 35% of the statewide tally. That leaves just over 60% of the vote to be divided between Dukakis and Gore. Thus for Jackson to win would require Gore, the long shot in the race, to run close behind Dukakis. Coming full

Voices for Jesse

esse Jackson's "rainbow coalition" once contained virtually a single door: black. But what a difference four years has made. An impressive aspect of Jackson's 1988 candidacy is his acceptance by many white voters. Last week white Jackson supporters around the country explained why they are joining in the chorus of "Win. Jesse, win!"



"The man's very honest, and he's not making any promises he can't keep. I don't feel he's running for President because he's black. He's just saying, 'I'm a person; I can do the job.' It really struck me, him bringing home a pillot who was shot down."

-JOE GRENIER, SANITATION ENGINEER; VERNON, CONN. "I like his position on the drug problem. Reagan's efforts have been superficial, like random testing. Jackson is proposing measures that will get to the source, like cutting off economic aid to governments involved in drug exportation."

—HARRY LOMBARDO, UNION OFFICIAL; PHILADELPHIA



"We are not running our country but leaving it up to those who help the rich get richer. We have a President who has lied and broken laws. Jackson is the only one willing to give you an honest answer."

DOUG HARSH, FARMER; MONDOVI, WIS.

"He's got a feeling for people who have suffered, and the reason, I think, is because of his childhood and upbringing. He is able to be kind to people who show their hatred toward him. When he speaks, you don't just hear what he's saying, you feel what he's saying, I think he'd make a great President."

-TIM WHALEN, LAWYER; BILLINGS, MONT.

16

circle, the more courageous Gore seems to white audiences for daring to take on Jackson, the more likely it is that the black preacher-politician will win the biggest primary of his career

From now until the primaries end in California, Jackson's hopes for the nomination depend on the expansion of his already surprising base of white support. Even with record turnouts among blacks, Jackson probably cannot win a major two-man or even three-man primary without the support of well over 20% of the white electorate. Before Super Tuesday, Jackson was regarded, and may have even regarded himself, as a charismatic protest candidate-appealing and beguiling, but a protest candidate nonetheless. Only in recent weeks, as Jackson garnered 17% white support in Massachusetts, 20% in Connecticut and what some estimated at 25% to 33% in the Michigan caucuses, has the epic potential of the Jackson candidacy seemed remotely likely to be realized

This sea change in white attitudes is not merely a reflection of the quirky nature of Democratic contests in which the turnout is so low that the votes of the committed activists are magnified. National polls tell the same story: white America is reassessing its initial antipathy to Jesse Jackson. As recently as last December, Jackson's negative ratings in the polls were 37%; now they are around 30% and dropping. In a nation where no black has been elected to the Senate since 1972 and none has ever been chosen as a state Governor, this turnabout is remarkable. But it is doubly remarkable when one considers Jackson's troublesome record: embracing Arafat, praise for Castro, association with Farrakhan, mismanagement of federal grants, and stands on issues far to the left of conventional discourse

son's growing appeal is what he is saying and the way he says it. While other candidates have task forces of advisers searching for a message. Jackson intuitively grasps what voters want to receive. "We must protect the American family from two basic threats that shake the very foundation of our society," Jackson declared in kicking off his

he simplest explanation of Jack-

campaign. "We must stop the flow of drugs into our country and stop the flow of jobs out of it. Stop drugs from coming in; stop jobs from going out.

These simple statements resonate because they stem directly from Jackson's life experience. A candidate born out of wedlock can preach on the sanctity of the family. A candidate who was advocating economic self-help and personal self-discipline in the ghettos of Chicago can speak with deep credibility about lives lost to drugs and livelihoods lost to economic downturn. A populist-and Jackson is without question the authentic article-needs to define a common enemy. What the titans of Wall Street once were to William Jennings Bryan, the international drug cartels and the soulless multinational corporations are to Jackson.

Jackson delivers this message heaping with simplicity and garnished with memorable rhetoric. Unlike his conventional counterparts, he does not bog himself down in the boring if essential details of how his ideas might work in practice. He is resolute about keeping his words clean, simple, unrefined and, as George Wallace once ad-

"I'm drawn to a candidate I believe in, someone who could possibly carry the goals and ideals I found in the '60s. His whole campaign has been a healing process for the party. He's talking about issues and people we've ignored for years; drugs and economic devastation, issues that transcend ethnic and religious problems. The other candidates are just politicians. I can't get excited about them."

- IOAN SCERRO-LYNDHURST N.I.

"My family's Southern. And there's something that's so right about Jackson, He seems to be concerned about people everywhere-not just about whether we're winning something or whether we're going to have more money or more power to destroy.

ELIZABETH KINCAID-EHLERS. PSYCHOTHERAPIST: WEST HARTFORD

'He's more in touch with what's going on. I don't think he would be a bad President. No worse than what we have. He's got a better recall and a higher IO. I don't think he'll win, but with the others, it's one incompetent over another."

-LARRY HELIKER, CONSTRUCTION WORKER: LOS ANGELES



"As a Jew, I've seen Jackson make the effort to understand Jewish issues more thoroughly. I'm impressed with his Middle Fast position It's essential that some candidate call for a negotiated settlement, and he is. He recognizes that the P.L.O. represents the Palestinians.

-BRIA CHAKOFSKY, NURSE: SEATTLE

"He's saying the right things about agriculture that we need in order to survive. When you listen to the other candidates, never do they even mention agriculture. It's like it doesn't exist. He's for people, working people. The big barracudas, the corporations, he'll put them in their place too.

-LYLE OUICK, FARMER; CIRCLE, MONT.

TIME APRIL 11 1988

Nation

vised him, "down where the goats can get it." Jackson is refreshing in his willingness to take unequivocal stands. At a debate in the Bronx last week, Gore and Simon were asked about their positions on handguns. Both laboriously made distinctions between different types of weapons. When it came Jackson's turn, he said simply, "We must ban handguns." The audience roared.

As an orator, Jackson is eloquent, funny and provocative. Hearing Jackson speak is not a passive experience but an active interplay between candidate and voter, the kind of two-way dialogue that has all but disappeared from political life. He virtually grabs his listeners by the hand and drags them over deep crevices of logic other is doing poorly. There doesn't seem to be any middle ground. Jackson is going to bring notice to the bigger politicians that there are people's needs, not just the needs of business and arms makers.

Such send-them-a-message primary votes did not end with Wallace. In a sense, Jackson supporters are registering a protest against efforts to neuter the Democratic Party so it can compete in a conservative era. It is not accidental that Jackson's two primary opponents, Dukakis and Gore, are post-liberal politicians who have built their careers around competence and mastery of complex subjects rather than ideological appeal. The almost willful blandness of these two white vernism from the party. But now, as the party is forced to contemplate the nomination of a candidate far more divisive than a professorish two-term Senator from South Dakota, there are almost no voices publicly raised in opposition. Instead, the dominant sentiment is that of Mario Cuomo, who said, "The winner ought to be the candidate with a plurality. If Jackson is the winner, bang, it's his. That's the only way.

In a sense, Jackson is now the beneficiary of all the prior efforts to derail his candidacy. The Southern regional primary that was at the core of Super Tuesday was designed to lay the groundwork for a moderate nominee who could carry Dixie.



and fact to new understanding. These leaps of faith can be breathtaking and at times demagogic. In Hartford last week, Jackson looked up at the shimmering glass of the downtown office towers and intoned, "There is something wrong with this nation when here in this state, the insurance capital of the world, there are

Ignore, as Jackson's audience did, that he provided no explanation of how to pay for this additional health insurance. Dwell instead on Jackson's oft-repeated formulation "There is something wrong with this nation." That sentiment cuts close to the heart of Jackson's appeal to left-liberals who are wont to use their primary votes to send a message. With the black underclass abandoned to their misery, the homeless sleeping on the streets, factories closing and the affluent unabashed at flaunting their possessions, there is a persistent sense that something is awry with the nation, something far deeper than what party is in control of the White House. "One segment of the population is doing well," said Anthony Iwaskiewizc, a Milwaukee businessman backing Jackson in this week's primary. "The

300,000 people without health insurance

Democrats is a form of protective camouflage designed to help them win in November, if nominated. These sober strategies seem pallid to many Democratic voters in contrast to the feel-good allure of a vote for Jackson.

ut even as Jackson arouses Democratic passions, this blossoming love affair cannot forever mask the reality that if he is nominated the party will lose-and probably lose big. Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower, one of the nation's most articulate left-wing populists, insists that if Jackson is the nominee, the "increase in voters would more than offset defections." There is a glimmer of merit to the contensince voter turnout was just 53% in 1984. But partisans made the same arguments for Barry Goldwater in 1964 and George McGovern in 1972. The results were two of the biggest landslides in modern history.

One of the curiosities that has accompanied Jackson's ascendancy is the tolerant silence of most elected officials and party leaders. For 15 years the Democrats have caucused, conferenced and connived to find ways to erase the stigma of McGo-



Gore lurches from issue to issue

Instead, Jackson vaulted into contention by capturing roughly one-third of the Southern delegates. In the weeks before Michigan, Party Chairman Paul Kirk tried to grease the way for Dukakis by arguing that whoever was ahead when the primaries were over was entitled to the nomination, even if he was far short of the 2.082 delegates needed to win. It was always an odd theory: anointing a candidate who failed to win close to a majority was preferable to the uncertainty of a brokered convention. But the party embraced Kirk's notion with such fervor that it may rally around Jackson if he is the delegate leader after California

There are several theories to explain the surface equanimity of traditional Democrats in the face of the Jackson groundswell. For some it simply reflects an innate sense of fairness, coupled with the fear that any overt stop-Jackson movement would be perceived as racism. Others calculate that the Democrats are doomed to defeat if Jackson is either nominated or rebuffed and that permanently alienating his black supporters would do far greater long-term damage to the party.





WITH THEIR
HEART AT THE
RACECOURSE BUT
THEIR FEET
ON THE GROUND.



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Even as Jackson's rivals-Dukakis in particular-stress their electability, signs are growing that aggressively pressing the Jesse-can't-win argument could trigger an angry black response. Texas Congressman Mickey Leland, a leading black supporter of Jackson, called a press conference last week to denounce an unnamed cabal of party leaders who were plotting against Jackson. There were no specifics to back up the vague allegations, but Leland fired a warning shot through his none-too-subtle use of the word racist

In truth, even most Democrats actively alarmed over Jackson's prospects are doing little more than grumbling in private. There is, to be sure, something timorous about this palpable reluctance to publicly criticize Jackson. A well-known Democratic insider angrily but anonymously denounced Jackson in an expletive-filled diatribe as a charlatan, "from the phony blood smeared all over him after the King assassination, to his 'Viva Castro' bull, to wrapping his arms around Arafat. And you can be damn sure that all of that will be used against him if he's on the ticket.

Others hope that the press, if no one else, will provide the gimlet-eyed assessment of Jackson. Some implicitly assume that Jackson cannot withstand such scrutiny. Certainly Jackson's maladroit stewardship of \$5.6 million in federal grants and contracts awarded under the Carter Administration is a lingering embarrassment. Technically the money went to PUSH-Excel, an educational subsidiary of Jackson's Chicago antipoverty organization, Operation PUSH. From the outset, Jackson was the catalyst for the funding. Carter Cabinet officials such as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano and Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall courted Jackson and invited him to apply for grants. "These federal agencies came to Jesse and threw money at him and at PUSH," recalls Doug Ponci, an official in the audit office of the Department of Education, another agency that sponsored Jackson. "It just overwhelmed them."

ndeed it did. The Justice Department is currently negotiating with PUSH in a civil case for repayment of \$1.2 million of Labor and Education Department

funds. There is no evidence of fraud, just poor record keeping and documentation. Since running Operation PUSH is Jackson's only administrative experience, this lax record of fiscal accountability remains a

disturbing credential for a man who wants to preside over a \$1 trillion federal budget.

As Jackson slowly moderates his rhetoric, there is a tendency to portray him as merely a flamboyant heir to Hubert Humphrey's free-spending domestic liberalism. There is truth to this contention, but there is also a clear parallel to another political leader: Ronald Reagan.

Like the President who has run up record deficits, Jackson is infinitely more comfortable talking about goals than doing the green-eyeshade arithmetic to figure out how to pay for them. Jackson's theory: if it sounds good, the money will come from somewhere. His position papers call for higher taxes on the wealthy and corporations as well as draconianand dangerously unworkable-cuts in the military budget. But there are times when Jackson goes beyond such frequent Democratic targets. When he rails against "those who live on credit cards beyond need," he is attacking not only rapacious corporations but the upper middle class.

In the Humphrey tradition, Jackson has promised Democratic voters a laundry list of expensive new domestic programs, from housing to education. The cost of his comprehensive health-care

Among some Jackson advis-

ers, the savvy Lewis, 50, is known

as the "mother of us all." A former

political director of the Demo-

cratic National Committee, a

thoughtful, deep-dyed liberal and

ideas. She functions as a conduit to

party Pooh-Bahs and the media.

Jesse's Concentric Circles

or most politicians, the inner circle means the old guard. For most politicians, the little circle title is loyalty rather than ability. Jesse Jackson has an inner circle, but the individuals seem chosen less for enduring devotion than for immediate usefulness, and their names and places change so often that advising Jackson can seem like a game of Ann Lewis

musical chairs. While Jackson's large and varied outer circle of advisers is a racial rainbow, his four closest advisers-at least for the moment-are white, and three are Jewish. They include Jackson's campaign manager, Gerald Austin; his economics adviser, Carol O'Cleireacain; his

policy adviser, Mark Steitz; and his all-purpose sounding board, Ann Lewis. The rationale for the cast of white faces is simple: Jackson's entourage, says a black adviser, "has done all the black politics they need to

Austin, 43, a political consultant who managed two successful campaigns for Ohio

Governor Richard Celeste, joined the campaign last November. He found the troops in disarray Jackson's Chicago headquarters lacked not only copying machines but wastebaskets. Thus far Austin has helped make the trains run and lifted staff morale. He is tough talking and irreverent; his greatest strength, observes another Jackson lieutenant, "is that he isn't afraid to make a decision."

O'Cleireacain, 41, an expert in public finance with a doctorate from the London School of Economics, plugs Jackson into the business community and labor unions. She is on leave from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. One of Jackson's most talked about proposals comes from O'Cleireacain: the suggestion that the

Gerald Austin

Steitz, 31, signed on with Jackson after leaving Gary Hart's sinking campaign, which he served as deputy issues director. He has helped persuade Jackson to reduce his planned 25% cut in defense spending to a more reasonable 10% and brought the candidate's revenue-raising notions more in line with congressional opinion. His principal asset is that he has an excellent rapport with Jackson, "If you want Jesse to do something," says an Eastern adviser, "it's worth telling Steitz to tell Jackson.

Mark Steitz

feminist. Lewis rarely accompanies Jackson but acts as a kind of backboard off which he bounces

Government force public-pension-fund managers to invest

\$60 billion a year in Government-backed securities for the purpose of building bridges, roads and schools. She has toned

down Jackson's economic proposals, nudging him more to-

ward moderate positions on world trade.

Jackson maintains daily telephone contact with a range of people, among them Maxine Waters, the California assemblywoman; California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, his official campaign chairman and a strong but quiet influence: and former Carter Budget Director Bert Lance. But a few current inner-circle members may soon

be advising Jackson from more distant orbits. In the wake of the Michigan primary, some prominent blacks in the campaign, Brown among them, are agitating for a more significant role. They want higher-profile positions so that when the inevitable brokering takes place, they will have assigned seats at the table -By Richard Stengel.

Reported by Michael Duffy with Jackson

TIME, APRIL 11, 1988

Your insurance company would free protection against household

Light exteriors and cut back shrubs outside of your house.

When on vacation, lower the volume on your telephone bell and have a neighbor pick up deliveries.

> Secure double-hung windows together by drilling a hole and inserting a removable nail.

Make sure valuables can't be seen from outside.

Don't give strangers information about your schedule over the phone.



Every 14 seconds, another house is robbed.

Someone's bedroom is ransacked. Things are taken that can never be replaced. Worst of all, you feel as if your privacy has been violated.

Naturally, protecting your home from losses saves you and your insurance company money. Fewer claims can help keep costs down for everyone.

That's one reason why we've given you these simple ideas to protect your home. What's more important, we don't think anyone has a right to turn your home into a disaster area.

Your insurance company does a lot more than just sell you a policy. For more information about how to protect your home, write for our free booklet or call 1-800-222-1144 and ask for extension T-4.

Insurance In	f our free booklet, s formation Institute 10 William Street, N		3.
Name			
Address			
City	State	Zip	_
No salesper	son will call.		T-4

Your Insurance Company We do a lot more than sell insurance.

Nation

program alone would be near prohibitive even without the deficit problem. Moreover, he has been unable to resist the siren song of free-lunch economics. His centerpiece proposal is to tap \$60 billion in public pension funds to finance low-income housing and public works programs. The money would be taken out of stocks and bonds and invested where it could do the most good. Simple in theory, but what about the retirees who would earn a lower return on their retirement funds?

Foreign policy remains the arena where Jackson's radical agenda most explosively collides with conven-

tional political norms. Jackson's world view all but depicts South Africa as a greater threat than the Soviet Union. The candidate's formal briefing paper on "promoting real security" does not even mention in passing the need to counter Soviet mischief in the Third World. In Central America. Jackson would go far beyond cutting off funds to the contras: he would cease military assistance to the guerrilla-plagued



Greeting the multitudes Friday at a farm rally in Pock County, Wis. A seed has been planted that may someday bloom.

governments of El Salvador and Guatemala because they are "waging war against their own people." Not only does Jackson argue that "Western Europe should be responsible for its own conventional defense," he also appears sympathetic to unilateral cuts in the American

nuclear arsenal in the frail hope that the Soviets would cut theirs. With views and vulnerabilities like these, any other presidential candidate, white or black. would have been driven to the sidelines long ago. That is why it still appears improbable that the Democrats will take the bold-and probably foolhardy-step of nominating Jackson. But the white political establishment, along with the press, has been consistently underestimating Jackson since 1984. Then they initially doubted the magnitude of Jackson's appeal to the black community, and now they question his continuing support among whites. What these conventional calculations miss is Jackson's uncanny ability to invent his

own rules and often win by them. Even if Jackson does not ultimately leave the Democratic Convention in triumph, he will still be a victor. For he has already taught white America that a black person is not only somebody, he can be anybody. Even President of the United -By Walter Shapiro. Reported by

Laurence I. Barrett/Washington, Michael Duffy with Jackson and Michael Riley with Dukakis

On the Grapevine



lowa's winners. On that heady morning of Feb. 9, they could have been excused for addressing themselves in the mirror as "Mr. President." Bob Dole and Dick Gephardt had just won the Iowa cau-

cuses (remember them?) and had every reason to expect a surge that would carry them to their nominations. But the glow did not survive Super Tuesday, and last week they bowed to the inevitable and guit the race. More than 3,000 re-

porters covered the Iowa campaign. In the end it turned out to be less important than the Michigan Democratic caucuses, for which nary an exit poll was taken. Even Iowa's runners-up have done poorly: Pat Robertson and Paul Simon are likely to be the next to fold.

Mirror image. George Bush settled down with his aides last week for a leisurely review of his list of vice-presidential prospects, which included such usual suspects as Governors George Deukmejian and Tom Kean. Then Bush surprised his advisers with an unexpected addition to the roster: Wyoming Senator Alan Simpson. The homespun Simpson is well liked by his peers and above all loyal, an attribute that Bush has stated is his most important criterion.

Gephardt's last deal. Dick Gephardt had a problem. By dropping out of the race, he would lose the right to name a number of Missouri's at-large delegates who are still to be selected. Instead, Jackson (the runner-up in Missouri) would get to pick them. But Gephardt, now planning to run for reelection to the House, wanted to reward home-state support-



ers with convention seats. So he called Jackson and asked for the right to name Missouri's at-large delegates in return for helping Jackson with delegate slates in South Dakota and Texas. Jackson magnanimously agreed, and Gephardt announced his withdrawal the next day. After fighting back tears throughout his statement, he adjourned to a small room with family and friends, where he broke down and cried.



Counting their chickens. Jackson's campaign got so caught up in last week's excitement that his people suddenly seemed ready to pick out offices in the West Wing. A top operative from a failed campaign was called for advice in "running the country," and an outside adviser was asked to provide Cabinet nominations

Unconsummated, Governor Mario Cuomo strongly denies reports that he was preparing to back Dukakis until the Michigan caucuses changed his mind. True, no endorsement was formally offered. But Dukakis Campaign Manager Susan Estrich flew to New York City two days before the Michigan vote to meet with Cuomo's son Andrew, with the thought that a quick endorsement might be arranged. Andrew posed a number of detailed questions: Would Dukakis come to New York for the announcement? How would he deal with Jackson? Did Dukakis have a message for Jewish voters? But no agreement was reached before Michigan put a halt to the talks. Andrew found Estrich a difficult, brittle person to deal with, and communications between the two have pretty much shut down, although the two Governors keep in contact.



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Nation



The Attorney General under siege: "The best-case scenario is, you are going to get a report from McKay that knocks your block off"

It's Lonely at the Top

Resignations rock the Justice Department, but Ed Meese clings to his job

as wave after wave of scandal has battered Attorney General Edwin Meses and eroded the credibility of his Justice Department, he has clung for months to the time-honored defense of officials in trouble: the accusations were politically motivated. But last week, in a series of dramatic confrontations, that defense crumbles

Erita. Meee was bluntly told by William Wold, chief of the Justice Department's criminal division, that he might be subject to indictionent for his dealings with E. Robert Wallach, a central figure in both the Wedich and Iraqi pipeline afformation of the Company of the Company Arnold Burns, the second in order and Arnold Burns, the second in order and wared Meese that his behavior was "poisoning the department." Then the twoficials, handpicked by Meese for their senior posts, publicly announced their regignations and those of four of their regignations and those of four of their

The next day Solicitor General Charles Fried personally urged Meese to resign. Finally, Strom Thurmond, one of the Senate's most conservative Republicans, marched into the Attorney General's office to express the "deep concern" of his Capitol Hill colleagues about the example Meese was setting as the nation's top law-enforcement officer.

Despite the onslaught, Ronald Reagan once again stubbornly expressed his "full confidence in my friend of 20 years." Meese blithely insisted that he had no intention of quitting. He was helped by a terse announcement from Independent Counsel James McKay that his probe of Meese's ties to Wedtech and the pipeline had turned up insufficient evidence to indict the Attorney General.

While Meese insisted that the "department is functioning in its normal fashion" and "our strong management team is on the job," morale below him was sagging. There was so much grumbling in the Justice Department that a special custodial team was assigned to erase scorul-

With Friend Wallach in chummier days

An appearance of selling his office.

graffiti from the bathrooms and walls. Three of the top leadership posts are vacant. (Assistant Attorney General Stephen Trott has also resigned, to take a federal judgeship.)

When Weld recently urged U.S. Attorneys to get tougher on corruption, he ran into cynical replies. Says a Justice official: "Their reaction was to laugh and say, "What about your boss? Why don't you start at the Attorney General level?"

In defending Meese on the basis of friendship, the President implied this personal relationship with the Attorney General took precedence over the integrity and effectiveness of the Justice Department. Other Republicans were more concerned. Some members of Reagans White House staff have quetly supported the pressure on Meese to step sade. In 1997, the Proposition of the Workship of the Workship

When Burns and Weld told Meese they were quitting, sources say, Meese at first laughed. "Is this a joke?" he asked. "No. Ed. this is no joke," they replied. Asked Meese: "Why are you doing this?" Burns said that Meese had an "appearance problem" that was hurting the department. Both men declared that in good conscience they could not remain.

Weld explained that if he were investigating Meese's relations with Wallach,

Nation

"I'd put it to the grand jury for indictment." Meese protested, "But I haven't done anything wrong." Weld persisted, claiming that Wallach, Meese's former personal attorney, had traded his influence with Meese for big money. "Yes, but Wallach was indicted," Meese replied. Said Weld: "I'm not talking about Wallach. I'm talking about you

Weld contended that there appeared to be a pattern of Meese in effect selling the services of his office. Even if Independent Counsel McKay decides not to indict him. Weld advised Meese, "the best-case

scenario is, you are going to get a report from McKay that knocks your block off." Weld predicted that McKay will tarred Wedtech Corp. As White House Counsellor in 1982. Meese helped Wedtech get what he called a "fair hearing" in landing a \$32 million Army contract. A rare White House meeting to facilitate the contract had been held in the office of a top Meese aide. James Jenkins

When someone tipped Meese to his subordinates' decision, he reportedly was angry. "Ed Meese didn't want it to go to the independent counsel," says a department insider. "He made it known to Weld that it shouldn't go anywhere; it should be killed." On May 11, apparently aware that he could not block the probe, Meese pre-empted the impending announcement by publicly inviting McKay quickly shifted to whether Solicitor General Charles Fried would quit too. Fried. who represents the Government before the Supreme Court, sought the advice of Retired Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell. The 80-year-old Powell described Fried as "very upset and concerned." When Meese urged Fried to stay on the job, the anguished official declined to give a flat promise to do so. Instead, he told Meese that the turmoil in the department would not end until Meese stepped aside.

Later Fried announced vaguely that he would remain as long as he is "able to lead the office of Solicitor General with integrity and effectiveness." He made it clear that he would not accept promotion

to any of the higher vacancies.

At the heart of Meese's troubles was his friendship with Wallach, who advised Meese during his difficult Senate confirmation as Attorney General in 1985. The wheeler-dealer lawyer had financial interests in both Wedtech and the proposed Iraqi oil pipeline that Meese tried to expedite. Wallach was indicted by a federal grand jury in New York City last December for illegally acquiring payments from Wedtech to influence Meese.



Wallach and Chinn have taken their Fifth Amendment protection against selfincrimination rather than cooperate with McKay in the Meese probe. For his part, Meese contends he knew nothing about the details of the Chinn investments.

Buoyed by McKay's statement that he is not facing indictment, the Attorney General announced that he intends to fly off Wednesday on a scheduled week-long trip to Latin America to seek greater cooperation with U.S. antidrug programs. Yet Meese is not in the best position to pressure foreign leaders. When other U.S. officials have asked Mexico, for example, to get tougher on its officials accused of drug corruption, the response has been disconcerting. After citing Meese's problems, some Mexican diplomats have added with a sardonic smile, "It's like Wedtech. These cases are very difficult to make -By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Anne Constable and Elaine

Shannon/Washington





When Burns and Weld told Meese they were quitting, he at first laughed. "Is this a joke?" he asked. "No, Ed, this is no joke," they said.

charge that Meese violated the "Standards of Ethical Conduct for Government Officers and Employees," an ethics code that carries no criminal penalties but would require action by the department's Office of Professional Responsibility. The shaken Meese tried to persuade the two not to do anything "hotheaded." They said their resignations had already been handed to White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker

The route to the resignations had been long and difficult. Weld, a wealthy Boston intellectual, joined the Justice Department in 1986 after compiling an impressive record as U.S. Attorney in Massachusetts. There he won 108 convictions out of 111 cases of public corruption that his office prosecuted. His difficulties with Meese began last May, as he reviewed allegations against Meese to determine whether they required investigation by a special prosecutor. Weld consulted his superior. Burns, an affable former New York corporate lawyer who, as Meese's top aide, supervised the daily workings of the department bureaucracy. Both men decided, without telling

Meese, that the Attorney General should be investigated by Independent Counsel McKay, who was probing former White House Political Adviser Lyn Nofziger's lobbying for New York City's scandalto look into his dealings with Wedtech. As further allegations against Meese surfaced. Burns and Weld became more concerned. At senior staff meetings, they confronted Meese directly, citing newspaper stories and asking, "What about this, Ed? And this?" Meese still shrugged the reports off as "partisan attacks." Both officials had expected McKay to wind up his investigations quickly, but as the probe broadened instead, they decided that someone had to do something. Said a White House source: "They had endured the situation as long as they could, but there appeared to be no end in sight

Last month the two officials opened a channel of communication with White House Counsel A.B. Culvahouse to urge that Meese be persuaded to quit. Culvahouse arranged a meeting for them with Chief of Staff Baker on March 16. The White House version of Baker's response is that "he respected their views but couldn't offer much encouragement." He explained that Reagan simply would not sider pushing Meese out.

Over the weekend of March 26-27, Burns and Weld decided to resign, and they told Culvahouse and Baker on Monday. The chief of staff informed Reagan. Curiously, neither the White House aides nor Reagan told Meese.

After the resignations, speculation



Location. Location. Location

With a little help from friends, the Reagans pick a new home

iz Taylor's hacienda is around the cor-ner. Zsa Zsa Gabor's cottage is just up the street. Joanna Carson and Robert Stack have their digs within Shih Tzu walking distance. Ah, it will feel so good to be back home again

Perched in the best section of "old Bel Air" in west Los Angeles, 668 St. Cloud Road is the newly chosen site of Ronald and Nancy Reagan's post-White House home. In selecting the place, the Reagans wisely relied on the traditional real estate mantra-location, location, location. But they chose an unusual proce-

dure for acquiring their new homestead: they are leasing it from a consortium of about 20 friends and investors who purchased it specifically for the President and the First Lady

The one-acre, \$2.5 million estate was acquired as an investment by the group, which incorporated itself as Wall Management Services. According to Nancy Reagan's spokeswoman only two of the investors know the President personally. The three-year lease (no one even whispered what the rent is) gives the Reagans the option to buy or renew the lease at the end of the contract.

Although modest by local standards, the 6,500-sq.-ft. house has three bedrooms, a library, dining room, barbecue room, pantry room, two servants' rooms, a heated swimming pool and a three-car garage. Realtor Jeff Hyland says that since the land value of the plot alone could be as high as \$3 million, "the house in a sense came for free." A furnished brand-new home two doors down from the Reagans' new abode recently sold for \$14.75 million. "Reagan got the cheapest house in the area," says Hyland

The hunt for a house began about



Be it ever so humble: the Bel Air property

three years ago, when Mrs. Reagan's friends Betsy Bloomingdale and Marion Jorgensen began a surreptitious search in the area. But word got around the real estate circuit, and the women were besieged by eager brokers. When a social acquaintance of Jorgensen's telephoned her to say that her elderly, recently widowed niece might want to part with her St. Cloud home, Jorgensen and Bloomingdale found what they-and the Reagans-had been looking for. In August 1986, Wall Management quietly bought the house and leased it back to the widow, who has since died. Reagan had apparently considered a few houses about a year and a half ago, but balked at the multimilliondollar price tags

Why Reagan did not purchase the house is unclear. But the President and the First Lady have a history of accepting such benefits. When Reagan was Governor of California, a group of friends bought a house for the Reagans and rented it back to them. The President consulted the White House counsel and the Office of Government Ethics before signing the lease last month.

The St. Cloud home will undoubtedly be the Reagans' primary residence. Nancy reportedly does not care for Ronnie's beloved ranch near Santa Barbara. Besides, the only neighbors there are a few dogs and

No Vacancy

The housing squeeze gets worse

he homeless are performing a great service [to the nation] by making clear how bad the housing situation is." So says James Rouse, a commercial developer and chairman of a 26-member National Housing Task Force that reported to Congress last week. His point: "Behind the homeless on the street are millions of Americans who are right on the edge, and could be on the street tomorrow if they lost their jobs or had a medical emergency."

Paychecks have fallen so far behind spiraling rents that half the 13 million American families living in poverty are devoting a crushing 50% or more of their meager incomes to shelter. Higher up the social scale, the housing market is thwarting the dream of home ownership for additional millions of mostly young people. They remain in apartments because they cannot afford the high cash down payments and interest rates needed to buy a house. In fact, the U.S. has reversed a four-decade trend toward greater home ownership. The percentage of all households that own their homes, after climbing to a peak of 65.6% in 1980, has since edged down to 63.8%

What to do? Like other experts, the

Task Force Chairman Rouse in New York City

task force, which was set up last September at the request of the Senate's housing subcommittee, concluded that the only answer is building up federal housing subsidies dismantled by the Reagan Administration. Specifically, the group recommended adding almost \$3.4 billion to the \$13.8 billion budgeted for federally subsidized housing in fiscal 1988. Some \$3 billion would be funneled to states to finance a new Housing Opportunity Program to build or rehabilitate low-cost housing;

states would be required to match half that outlay, for a total of \$4.5 billion. An additional \$380 million would go to double the number of housing units for which the Department of Housing and Urban Development pays part of the rent for needy tenants.

These would be only start-up costs. The task force recommended that the Government commit itself to keep HOP going through the end of the century at first-year levels or higher. That would imply an outlay of perhaps more than \$36 billion in additional federal cash alone over the next twelve years. Less costly proposals would ease the terms on which FHA mortgages are made available to home buyers. Prospects for immediate action are dim. Under terms of the budget compromise reached last fall between the White House and Congress, an extra \$3.4 billion for housing would have to be taken out of some other type of domestic spending, a prospect no legislator relishes. Though a Senate subcommittee will consider legislation this spring. Rouse concedes that "realistically, until there is a new President, there is not going to be a new housing program." But there is growing pressure not to put off consideration of such a program forever. The housing report is the third in recent months making essentially the same point: agonizing as the situation of the homeless is, it is only the tip of a very dangerous iceberg.

American Notes



DRUGS The march of the big drug bust in New York City



OHIO Amish can tuck their beards into the mask



CHICAGO Heroine Anne Claxton

DRUG

A Family Kiss Goodbye

Italian Fugitive Emanuele Adamita embraced the undercover federal agent and told him he was "family." The agent kissed Adamita on the lips and told him, "You're un-der arrest." That dramatic bust in a Manhattan motel last week was part of a roundup of more than 100 people suspected of belonging to a Sicilian Mafia heroin and cocaine ring. Dozens of other suspects face charges in locales extending from Cleveland to Puerto Rico. as part of the biggest drug case ever developed by the U.S. and Italy

In an elaborate scheme, the Mafia used South American cocaine to buy heroin in Iral for resale in U.S. markets. Rather than seize individual drug couriers, DEA agents followed them to ferret out their network. The new scheme seemed to produce results, alips formed along the way were obviously short-lived.

NEW YORK CITY

A Dealer Pays For His Crimes

When New York State Supreme Court Justice Lewis Douglass sent convicted Drug Dealer Agapito Lopez up the

ed that \$440,000 had been found in Lopez's Brooklyn apartment. That was merely cash on hand: in addition, the district attorney's office claims. Lopez owns three houses in New York, a car dealership, and several apartments in his native Puerto Rico. Last week Judge Douglass decided to redistribute some of Lopez's assets. He ordered the dealer to hand over more than \$2 million in restitution to New York City's drug-rehabilitation programs. It marked the most sweeping invocation of victim-compensation laws by a judge in a drug

river to prison last year, he not-

ENVIRONMENT

Strains on a Friendship

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan sang and swapped jokes about their Irish heritage on St. Patrick's Day three years ago at the "Shamrock Summit" in Quebec City, but their friendship has soured since then. Last week it bottomed out over the unresolved problem of acid rain. Much of the pollution that falls on Canada is caused by the burning of coal and other fuels by U.S. industries. In a speech in New York City, Mulroney angrily declared, "It's ruining our lakes, it's killing our rivers, it's ruining our forests."

Under strong domestic pressure to extract a commitment from the U.S. to decrease acid rain, Mulroney lashed out at the Reagan Administration's wait-and-study attitude. "Friendship has inescapable costs," said he. "One of them is bearing whatever burdens are required to avoid polluting your neighbor's property." Although the two leaders will hold another summit later this month. Mulroney acknowledged that he must wait for Reagan's successor to see any results

Whiskers

Keep Your

Twentieth century bureaucracy stumbles when it comes to the Amish, who have stubbornly resisted the Social Security program and other government rules and regulations. The latest conflict has cropped up in Mesopotamia (pop. 2.000). Ohio, 40 miles east of Cleveland, where Amish Volunteer Fire Fighters Eli Miller and Noah Mullet go unshaven as a sign of personal simplicity. A new state law forbids fire fighters to wear beards in the line of duty. The reason: facial hair prevents a proper seal from forming between the skin and a breathing mask, which fire fighters are required to use near flames.

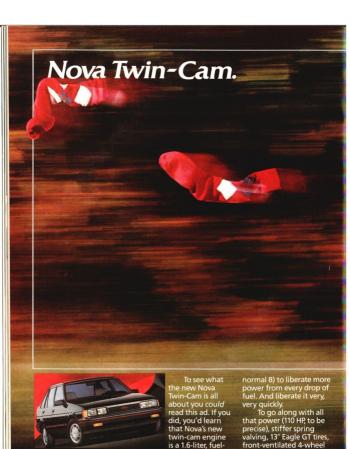
Choosing deference to his volunteers above the law, Fire Chief Keith Williams has decided to permit the men to don the breathing devices over their beards. "You can't afford to get rid of good fire fighters," he says. The two Amish make up half the fire company's day shift; Miller, who owns a harness shop across the street from the station, is usually the first fireman to answer a call.

CHICAGO

True Grit on The South Side

In the tough Englewood neighborhood of Chicago's South Side. Anne Claxton stands out for her bravery. The 44-yearold mother was returning to her home from a medical clinic when ex-Con Jamaljah Aliwoli opened fire on two rookie patrolmen who had stopped him for a traffic violation Patrolman Daniel Duffy fell wounded, and Aliwoli shot wildly at the other officer. Gregory Matura. After wounding Matura, Aliwoli turned and began hunting for Duffy with his .357 Magnum. But Claxton dashed between them, hiding Duffy as the gunman went past. The gunman stared at her before heading straight toward a police ambush a few blocks away. The young housewife has taken the accolades in stride. Says she: "There is nothing heroic about saving the life of another human being when we are all human beings."

TIME, APRIL 11, 1988 29



is a 1.6-liter, fuelinjected wonder that uses

16 valves (instead of the

disc brakes and gas-charged

shocks were also added.



follows the curves like the dotted yellow line.

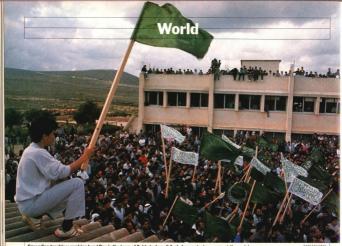
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OF AMERICA

TODAY'S CHEVROLET



Spreading troubles; marking Land Day in the town of Sakhnin, Israeli Arab demonstrators support the unrising

DIPLOMACY

Search for Partners

Should the U.S. deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization?

ven during one of the holiest times of the year, the bloodshed would not stop in the Holy Land. From secret locations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip last week, leaders of the Palestinian uprising issued leaflets addressed to their stone-throwing followers. The order: step up the violence on Land Day, the twelfth anniversary of the deaths of six Israeli Arabs who were killed while they protested Israeli government confiscation of their property. Anticipating trouble. Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin took the unprecedented step of sealing off the West Bank and Gaza for three days. He warned of harsher measures to come if the unrest did not end soon. Challenged Rabin: "Let's confront each other. We'll see who will be stronger.'

The test of wills exploded into the

worst violence since the troubles began in December. Though additional security forces were poured in, thousands of West Bank Palestinians commemorated Land Day by burning tires and attacking soldiers. By week's end, as Christians and Jews began their Easter and Passover observances. 18 more Palestinians had been shot dead by Israeli troops, which raised the toll to 139 in the four-month uprising.

As some waved the banned Palestine Liberation Organization flag, thousands of Israeli Arabs staged nonviolent Land Day demonstrations in sympathy with the Palestinians under occupation. The restrictions were lifted on Good Friday, but Israeli leaders did not withdraw their threats to quell the rioters. Declared Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir: "We say to them, from this hilltop and from the perspective of thousands of years of history, that in our eyes they are like grasshoppers.

As Shamir spoke, Secretary of State George Shultz was heading to the Middle East, his third such trip in five weeks to try to sell his peace plan. Shamir, who remains adamantly opposed to Shultz's proposals, had fresh reason to be concerned last week. Five days before the Secretary of State left Washington, he met for 90 minutes with two Palestinian-Americans. Both are members of the Palestine National Council, a parliament-in-exile with some 400 members that serves as an umbrella organization for the P.L.O. as well as for nonmilitary Palestinian institutions.

The two men, Professors Edward Said of Columbia University and Ibrahim Abu-Lughod of Northwestern University, are



Shamir: Remember the 1975 memo



Shultz: a change in nuance

not official representatives of the P.L.O. Even so. Shamir charged that Shultz had violated a 1975 memorandum of understanding that bars U.S. diplomats from recognizing or negotiating with the P.L.O. until the group acknowledges Israel's right to exist. Said Benjamin Netanyahu, who resigned his post as Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations last week in order to speak out against the encounter as well as run for the Knesset: "The meeting marks a serious erosion in the U.S. commitment not to negotiate with the P.L.O.

The session was lauded by Arab countries and Palestinians. "A direct dialogue between the U.S. and the Palestinians is necessary to give a push to the peace effort," said Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmat Abdul-Meguid. P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat declared that the Secretary of State "now knows . . . that he is unable to go ahead with his plan without the representatives of the Palestinian people." Shultz denied that there had been any change in U.S. policy, and pointed out that it was "beyond the pale" for Shamir to suggest that a U.S. official could not meet with American citizens

Shultz resumed his shuttle to Israel and neighboring Arab countries to show that the U.S. remains determined to pursue a "territory for peace" solution to the Palestinian problem. He wants to ensure

that key Arab leaders, notably Jordan's King Hussein, do not shy away from their basic sympathy for his diplomatic efforts. Said a senior aide: "You know George. He's going to bulldog ahead."

But Shultz also intends to attempt a fresh approach with Shamir. The Prime Minister has flatly rejected the first part of Shultz's plan, which calls for an international conference. Tired of haggling over procedure. Shultz intends to focus on phase two of his plan: granting interim self-rule, or autonomy, to the Palestinians living under military rule.

hultz hopes to build on 1979 talks conducted between the U.S., Israel and Egypt over what might constitute autonomy in the occupied territories. The negotiators agreed at that time to turn over to the Palestinians 20 civil functions, including tax collection, health and education. The agreements were never implemented. But in a letter to Shultz three months ago, Shamir agreed to discuss five autonomy issues that went unresolved in 1979: Jewish settlements, the rights to water resources, security, the rights of Palestinians living in annexed East Jerusalem and the question of whether the autonomous entity would have legislative powers. Palestinians fear that Israel may

grant limited civil autonomy but then refuse to abandon its military occupation. Thus a key challenge for Shultz will be to get Shamir's commitment to the last phase of his proposal: negotiations aimed at reaching an agreement by which Israel would return the occupied lands in exchange for a promise of peace

So far, Shultz has no plans to amend his proposal that the Palestinians enter negotiations only as part of a joint delegation with Jordan. But Shultz's advisers acknowledge privately that the U.S., having concluded that there can be no peace settlement without the P.L.O.'s approval, "intends in practice to be intensely ambiguous on the issue of P.L.O.

The P.L.O., most experts and opinion polls indicate, enjoys the overwhelming support of the world's 5 million Palestinians, including the 1.4 million who live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But since the organization emerged as a guerrilla force in the 1960s. Israel has refused to negotiate with the P.L.O. out of concern that its members were

determined to destroy the Jewish state. So intense is the Israeli revulsion that in 1975, then Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin extracted the promise from U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that Washington would not negotiate with the P.L.O. Though the agreement did not seem to ban contacts with the group, Jimmy Carter's Ambassador to the U.N., Andrew Young, was forced to resign in 1979 after

holding an unauthorized meeting with a P.L.O. observer at the U.N

Many foreign policy experts agree that the prohibition against negotiations now hinders U.S. diplomacy. "I see no reason not to talk to the P.L.O.," says Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was Carter's National Security Adviser, "The French talked to the Algerians, the U.S. talked to the North Vietnamese, and at this moment the contras are talking to the Sandinistas. Israeli insistence on not talking with the P.L.O. is in effect a dodge to prevent any negotiations at all." Though his is still a minority Israeli view. Yehoshafat Harkabi, a former military-intelligence chief, believes that the current unrest may eventually force Israel to change its stance.

Those who insist that the U.S. should continue to honor its 1975 pledge point out that the P.L.O. has never acknowledged Israel's right to exist. Although the Palestinian National Charter of 1968 says "armed struggle" is the only way to regain "indivisible" Palestine, Arafat has expressed more moderate views over the years. He has spoken in interviews of his readiness to recognize Israel if Israelis reciprocally grant Palestinians their demands for an independent state. Says Columbia University's Said: "Arafat's position in the Palestinian community is that of a man who wants a political settlement based on two states [for Israelis and Arabsl. Every Palestinian knows that.

But few if any Israelis, or, for that matter, Americans, know that-if it is indeed true. Enormous doubts remain about both Arafat's trustworthiness and his ability to control the more radical elements of his organization. Shultz's challenge, for the moment at least, will be to continue to open the door to Palestinian participation in the peace talks and not let Shamir shut it completely, "Everyone agrees that Palestinians have to be a part of this process," Shultz told reporters aboard his plane last week. "The question is how to structure that, and how to identi-

fy the right people. To many analysts, Shultz's meeting with the two pro-Arafat professors

appeared to reflect a subtle shift in U.S. policy. Though Washington is still not prepared to break the Kissinger agreement unilaterally, Shultz seems more convinced than ever that without P.L.O. consultation of some sort, the first act of his peace plan-an international conference-

will never take place. The challenge of his task was aptly illustrated last week when Arafat apparently gave the green light for more Palestinians to meet with Shultz in the Middle East this week. But then came still another leaflet

circulated by the underground leaders of the uprising. The order: protest Shultz's By Scott MacLeod. Reported by Robert Slater/Jerusalem and Bruce Van Voorst with Shultz



World



A policeman stands guard as government workers seize flour from a mill

PANAMA

The General Strikes Back

A defiant Noriega proves that for now, at least, he is still the boss

Leve year around this time, the spring lakes over Phanna darken regularly with runors of rain. A few drops usually fill, but the downpour that would ease the stifling 90° heat never comes. To frustrated Panamanians, the weather this year provides a striking parallel to the political crists that grips their country. Just as they long for rain, citizens yearn for the departure of General Manuel Antioni Noriega. But while Noriega faces a relentless combination of economic wees and widetended to the striken of the complex of the striken of the second to Like the seemingly imminent rain, he stubbornly refuses to fall.

some patential differ more than simply hang on last week. In a show of force, his troops manhandled selected opposition leaders and foreign journalists. Within days, a Washington-backed general strike began to crumble, easing the pressure on Noriega to leave and making it clear to all that he remained in charge. Conceded Elilott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and chief architect of the White House campaign chief of the White House campaign has been considered to the White House campaign has been been considered to the White House campaign has been controlled to the White House campaign has been considered to the w

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at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, warned against using U.S. force to topple the general. Said he: "I can't think of anything more counterproductive than an American intervention in Panama."

Noriega showed his defiance throughout the week. Hours after his troops arrested and beat protesters at a Panama City rally, soldiers and police burst into the lobby of the Marriott Caesar Park Hotel and seized 20 opposition leaders, who had scheduled a news conference, and twelve foreign journalists, including five Americans. Many were beaten as they were led away. Ignoring Roman Catholic Church leaders who urged him to resign, Noriega later told a conference of delegates from Latin American and Caribbean countries that he and the region were

victims of U.S. aggression.

Panama's three largest supermarket chains helped Noriega's cause by bowing to government pressure and reopening stores that had been shut for ten days by the general strike. Meanwhile, several U.S. companies, including Texaco and Eastern Air Lines, paid nearly \$3 million in taxes and fees to Panama's cashstarved treasury. The firms said the payments were part of the normal course of business. The money temporarily relieved a financial squeeze that had grown severe since Washington froze some \$50 million in Panamanian funds in the U.S last month. To prevent companies from easing Noriega's fiscal woes any further, the Administration belatedly asked U.S. firms to put future payments into an escrow account.

Administration officials now fear that what they expected to be a textbook study in swiftly dislodging a tyrant will turn into a bloody, drawn-out struggle. "The assumption was that despite all his defects, he cared about the welfare of Panana;" says a State Department official. "Well, Noriega carres exclusively about Noriega, and he will use every means at his dispos-

Though Noriega quelled a mutiny within the 16,000-member Panama Defense Forces last month, U.S. policymak-erw sixfully hope that some of the general's comrades will try again. "Only Noriega's guys can quickly put things right," says a U.S. official. Waiting for another coup, however, may prove to be just as frustrating as waiting for those Apisowers.

—By John Greenwald.

Reported by Ricardo Chavira/Washington and John Moody/Panama City



Happy to be here

Any Day Now, Honest

If key State Department officials in Washington have consistently miscalculated Noriega's departure date, don't blame the U.S. embassy in Panama City. For months now, embassy officials have been warning the State Department that the general would be extremely hard to remove. As a Panama-based diplomat

put it, "Noriega is one tough nut to crack."

But Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams remained skeptical. Perhaps because the embassy's cables competed with less pessimistic messages from CA operatives and the Army's Southern Command headquarters in Panama, Abrams and others often predicted that Noriega would step down any day. When Abrams admitted last month that he had misulaged Noriega's staying power, embassy hands prediction of the product of the command of the similar products of the command of the products of the command of the products of the sound of the products of the sound of the sound of the sound of sound of sound s

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similar configurations

NICARAGID

Taking a Baby Step Toward Peace

Talks inch forward as Congress approves more aid for the contras

If peace is the absence of hostilities, then peace prevailed in Nicaragua last week. More accurately, a fragile true seemed to be holding as representatives of the Sannistas and the contrast gathered in the dusty town of Sapod to approve the finistas and the contrast gathered in the dusty town of Sapod to approve the property of the contrast was preventioned to the contrast of the contrast was only half the picture. At the very moment courte field commanders and their Sandinista counterparts were meeting, other rebel leaders were in

demanding a humanitarian relief group. In Washington, Congress achieved a surprising consensus on a new \$48 million humanitarian-di package. The assistion of the surprise of the surprise of the the House and the Senate, provides the contras with nearly \$18 million in food, clothing and medical supplies over the next six months, An equal amount will be next six months, An equal amount will be next six months, An equal amount will be year wast. In addition, \$10 million was al-



The waiting game: rebels relaxing outside La Vigía, near the Honduran border

If the treaty falls apart, military assistance may be renewed.

Washington petitioning for additional aid. The appeal netted a fresh infusion of humanitarian funds and the possibility of renewed military assistance should the 60-day cease-fire fail. The confusing signals could only leave skeptics wondering whether the threat of renewed aid was intended to buttress peace, or if the threat-ened peace was intended to ensure more

Both sides called last week's talks in Sapoá "frank and direct," but "distrustful and incomplete" would be a more apt description. They agreed to create five neutral zones within Nicaragua where rebel troops will congregate while Sandinista and contra leaders continue to negotiate what the Sapoá accord calls a "definitive cease-fire." But the boundaries of the agreed-upon zones remain unfixed, when and how the rebels will disarm is still unclear, and the designation of a "neutral organization" to deliver humanitarian aid to the contras could become a source of dispute, with some contras favoring a commercial company and the Sandinistas

located to help cover the expenses of the verification commission called for in the Sapoá accord, and \$2.5 million was allotted to a U.S. agency to pay the costs of administering the aid program.

The determinedly nonlethal nature of

the aid package seemed a tacit acknowldegment that the hostilities are winding down. "This is the kind of stuff you send to refugees, not an army with a fighting future. See the deal of stuff you send future. See the deal of the particular of the word an important concession from traditional opponents of the contrast House Speaker Jim Wright of Texas promised in writing not to block future consideration of military aid if the peace effort falls

"The package will keep the freedom fighters together, body and soul," said a senior White House official. "It also provides the option to get new aid to them if the Sandinistas do not live up to their pledges." But the Administration was nevertheless shaken by the unexpected deal signed at Sapoá. "The contrast

jumped the gain, got out of control, by signing," said an official. After a Washington meeting last week with three of the rebel leaders who signed the Sapot agreement, a State Department official control to the coarse from the assumption that it would be with them speedly approval of more U.S. and "Flad they not worked something out, and the said of the significant of th

If it could be argued that financial considerations led the contras to the peace table, the same could be said for the Sandinistas, who hope that an end of the war will allow them to devote their limited resources to resuscitating Nicaragua's comatose economy. In compliance with the agreement, the Sandinistas released 100 political prisoners last week; the remaining 1,432 political prisoners and 1,822 former National Guardsmen are to be freed in stages. Moreover, President Daniel Ortega Saavedra called on Reagan to honor a pledge made in November to resume talks with Managua once the Sandinistas and contras began "serious negotiations.

There was a noticeable loosening of the controlled Nicaraguan press as contrass appeared on various radios shows. But the plight of the opposition daily La Prensa raised questions about whether the Sandinistass intended to honor the Sapoia accord's call for 'unrestricted freem or expression.' Last week the daily was unable to go to press because the governoy. The two pro-Sandinistan enesypapers were able to print more copies than they could sell.

Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez hailed the Sayod process a evidence that his regional pace accord, signed last August by five Presidents, is very much alive. "The peace plan was never dead," he said, "even though where may be some who wished to kill it." Arias is trying to build on the momentum of Sapod, urging others to the bargaining attack to the control of the cont

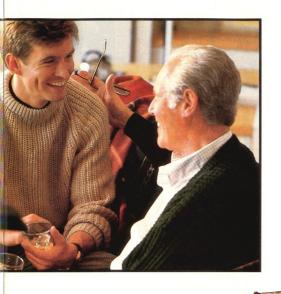
There is still much terrain to traverse before Nicaragua can lay claim to a genuine peace. This week top-level Sandinistas and contras are scheduled to meet in Managua to begin political negotiations. The rebels, emboldened by Nicaragua's growing internal opposition, are likely to push for further concessions. In response, the Sandinistas are expected to be flexible. "They're determined not to be blamed for any breakdown that could lead to more military funding from Congress," says an opposition politician. If the contras fear similar censure, peace just might last longer than the 60-day By Jill Smolowe. Reported by Ricardo Chavira/Washington and John Moody/San José

"Live all you can; it's a mistake not to." -Henry James

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Fruits of change: the "Second Revolution" has profited the whole nation, but may leave provinces like Hunan, left, far behind Guangdon

One for the Money, One Goes Slow

Why the coast outpaces the interior in the race to prosper

usterity-minded officials from Beijing | A sometimes complain that touring Guangdong province in South China is like visiting a foreign country. In contrast to much of China. Guangdong exudes abundance: successful farmers living in multistory houses, townships producing consumer goods ranging from shoes to toys to microwave ovens, thousands of privately owned businesses blossoming. Set in the humid delta of the Pearl River. Guangdong's capital, Guangzhou, better known in the West as Canton, seethes with enterprise. The Dongping Street free market is filled with stalls selling all sorts of food: fish swimming in tubs of fresh water, poultry, a greengrocer's delight of vegetables and fruits. Most important is a bountiful selection of grades and cuts of pork, which has been rationed in such huge cities as Beijing and Shanghai

Bureauerast from the capital are more likely to recognize the threadbare inland province of Hunan, just across Guang-andings anothern border. In Hunan, Mac Zadong's birthplace, most people still resolvent to the province once benefited heavily from investment in state enterprises, some of those facilities have become a drain on resources. With local officials abiding by the directives of central planners in Beijing, state-owned stores and consumer goods both on gricultural and consumer goods.

A decade ago, China appeared to be a monolith, but times have changed. After nine years of Deng Kiaopings "Second Revolution"—economic reform—two Chinas have emerged. In the relatively prosperous coastal regions, millions of successful entrepreneurs are building a future in exports to the outside world. Meanwhile, most of the interior provinces lag well behind, thanks to stagannt state planning,

price-controlled agriculture and millions of cadres clinique for Mac's nsty concept of the "tron rice bowl," lifelong employment guaranteed by the state. In parts of the interior, especially the large cities and Sichuan, Deng's home province and the laboratory for economic reform, some have prospered But not many. The eleven western provinces and territories, including the huge Thetan and Kinjung autonomous regions, with 300 million of Chinas's I billion 678 of 5293 billion. The ten provinces and municipalities in the east, with 360 million people, account for a remarkable 530.

This month, when the 3,000-member National People's Congress, the country's legislature, meets in Beijing to consider speeding up the pace of economic reform, the dispartites between the two Chinas are likely to become even more pronounced. One item on the agenda will be land, now part of Guangdong, into a separate province with the mandate to become a capitalistic special economic zone.

Bejing # National School Schoo

Both Communist Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang and Acting Premier Li Peng called for further development of the coastal industrial cities and special economic zones, even at the risk of letting the rest of the country languish. Said Li: "We must persever in our policy of permitting a part of the people to become prosperous before the rest."

Privately, however, the factions around the two leaders do not see exactly eve to eve. Zhao envisions the 11.200-mile coast as a powerful economic engine to which the backward interior provinces can eventually hitch themselves and thus be pulled into the 21st century: The more conservative party leaders who support Li caution that the increasingly well-off coastal economies could create instability. But only the speed of the reforms is being questioned, not their necessity. Last week State Councilor Song Ping proposed recombining 14 existing ministries and commissions into ten new ones. If adopted, the proposal would cut 10,000 people, or 20%, of the State Council staff by the end of the year. The state-owned rail, oil, coal and nuclear industries would become public corporations under ministerial supervision but responsible for their own profits and losses

The benefits—and pitfalls—of Zhao's costal approach are most visible in the contrast between Guangdong and Hunan. Since 1985, for example, Guangdong has allowed the price of pork to rise, as it didemand not only spurred local pig production but, with Cungadong merchants paying more than twice the state-controlled price of Zebly suan per kg (55° per lb.) for price of Zebly suan per kg (55° per lb.) for price of Zebly suangdong merchants paying more than twice the state-controlled price of Zebly suangdong merchants paying more and price of Zebly suangdong merchants paying more and price of Zebly suangdong merchants paying the price of Zebly suangdong merchants price and zebly of pork decreased dramatically in Hunan's state-subdidzed marketics.

While the rest of the country frets over the inflationary perils of free-floating prices, Guangdong's 63 million people are barely concerned. After all, their economy grew 18% in 1987, This year the growth

World

rate is a more sedate but still impressive 11%. Guangdong's producers and consumers have learned that when prices are allowed to respond to supply and demand, they may initially shoot up but begin to decline as new production reaches the

marketplace.

Guangdong, burdened with fewer state-tun plants than other regions to begin with, has proved especially congenial to the entrepreneural spirit. In Beijiao, about 15 miles south of Guangzhou, do Jiangquan, 49, general manager of the Yu Hua Industrial Co., has seen his firm expand from a bottle-cap producer to a manufacturer of electric fixes and microtant and the control of the control state-tune enterprises to compete against us." says Ou. "They have to carry out."

In sharp contrast with such assertiveness, a sense of defeatism permeates parts of Hunan. "When it comes to running businesses." concedes the province's vice governor, Yang Huiquan, "we're not on a par with people in the coastal areas." To a large degree, central planners still require Hunan's state farms to grow grain instead of cash crops. Yang would like Hunan and its 56 million people to imitate Guangdong. He is even seeking investment from the neighboring province. But the desire for prosperity does not seem as deeply rooted in Hunan as in Guangdong. particularly among older people. "Social morality has deteriorated." complains a 63-year-old retired party cadre in Hunan. "There are no more nameless heroes. Everybody thinks about making money.

he young certainly do. Prosperity next door has become a magnet for young Hunanese, though they may still lack the skills to benefit quickly. Those who remain behind contend that the lure of Guangdong saps Hunan of its best and brightest. In Changsha, the capital of Hunan, one government functionary demands a radical solution. "We should not merely ask for higher prices for our rice and vegetables." he says. "We should demand 40% of Guangdong's foreign-exchange earnings. Otherwise we would really become its colony." Some Hunanese have gone so far as blockading the border to prevent the outflow of goods

For the moment, Hunan officials are doing their best to downplay the tensions created by growing inequality with their neighbors. Says Vice Governor Yang: "The old and the new systems coexist To avoid friction between the provinces, says a Western diplomatic analyst in China, Beijing must "either roll back the reforms or expand the experiment to the rest of the country as quickly as possible." As Premier Li pointed out at the NPC however, the government is not likely to take either course at this time. While one China presses on, the other must wait its By Howard G. Chua-Eoan. Reported by Sandra Burton/Guangzhou and Jaime A. FlorCruz/Changsha

SOUTH AFRICA

Death in a Paris Hallway

An African National Congress aide is gunned down far from home

The job was done swiftly and professionally. Dulice September, 52, the Paris representative of the antipartheid African National Congress, was about to turn the key to her office in a run-down building in central Paris last week when an assassin stepped up behind her and squeezed off its whoth from a 22-cal, pistol equipped with a silencer. Several minutes last-

er, a worker from a neighboring office found her lying in a pool of blood, dead of bullet wounds to the head. There were no witnesses, and because of the silencer, nobody even heard the gunshots.

From its headquarters in the Zambian capital of Lusska, officials of the outlawed ANC, charged that the South African sportment was behind the murder of September, a "colored" (mixed race) native of Cape Town and longtime political race) native of September, as year for a "new campaign by Sebna, was part of a "new campaign by Sebna, was part of a "new campaign by French hefulss organized a parade of 500 a marchers in September's honor and cal window-shattering attack on Pretoria's tourist office.

South African Foreign Minister Rooli ("Pik") Botha responded with something less than an outright denial of Pretoria's complicity, saying merely. "The South African government cannot be held responsible for this deed." He suggested, without offering any proof, that "serious arguments" among antiapartheid organizations may have led to September's killing. Supporters of the nonracial A.N.C. have indeed been caught up in deadly battles with other political



I. C. atambas

groups, including the blacksonly Azanian People's Organization and the Zulu-based Intata organization. Factional disputes also exist inside the A.N.C. French police, however, disclosed no evidence linking any group, of whatever political stripe, to September's murder. Pretoria did claim respon-

mber sibility last week for a crossborder attack on what it said was an A.N.C. guerrilla transit facility, situated twelve miles inside Botswana. South African forces staged a postmidnight raid on the house, shot to death four people asleep inside, including at least two Botswana women, and escaped by helicopter after fire bombing the target. Said Defense Minister General Magnus

helicopter after her bombing the target. Said Defense Minister General Magnus Malan: "It is the policy of the South African government to combat terror wherever it may occur."

But that stern policy did not prevent

the raling National Party from suffering a parliamentary by-election defeat at the hands of the far-right Conservative Party, its third such loss in the past month. Last week's woring took place in the urban mining constituency of Randfordinery. Of Randfordiner, Conservative Party, long seen as the fast-rising Conservative Party, long seen as the single party of tural Afrikaners, is broadening its base. It was also a sign that the gradient of the party of the party of the jument, w. the National Party's 133, could pose a serious threat in next colber's municipal elections and in a nationwide partial metal reading and the party campaigs scheduler.

for 1989. —By William R. Doerner. Reported by William Dowell/Paris and Bruce W. Nelan/Johannesburg



Assassination protest: French leftists honor the victim during a mass street march

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World

SOVIET UNION

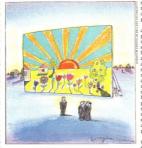
Introducing Glasnost Giggles

A literary satire takes on the bureaucracy

ou are forever telling them [local officials] to go forward," says the fictional letter to Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev. "but you never explain which way is forward. They themselves have no idea." That jest might not earn so much as a chuckle in a Johnny Carson monologue or an Art Buchwald column, but in the Soviet Union, where satirizing state officials can be harmful to one's health, the letter is a comedic landmark of sorts. Its appearance in the March issue of Theater, a glossy literary monthly, may mark the first time that the name of a sitting Soviet leader has been invoked in a government-authorized publication to lampoon the coun-

try's leaden bureaucracy. Trenchant jokes about the Soviet regime have been an underground art form since the early days of Stalin. But those with their wits about them kept their barbs to themselves. Comedian Arkady

Raikin went about as far as any comic could when, in the late 1970s, he publicly poked fun at Leonid Brezhnev's bushy evebrows. A year before Gorbachev came to power a Moscow comedian was banned from television for a year for making fun of an unnamed KGB general. But when Mikhail Zadornov, a Leningrad satirist and television personality, submitted his story



to Theater, the editors apparently thought the mock letter was suitable to print.

Adopting the voice of a resident of a dingy town that Gorbachev supposedly had visited. Zadornov informs the Soviet leader how the place had been hastily spruced up by Communist officials before his arrival: "In those three days they managed to do more for our city than they had during all the years of Soviet power." He goes on to detail the nervous overkill that precedes a Gorbachev visit. Not only do the authorities paint buildings along the leader's route, but then, because

"someone said that you like to swerve off your planned course, they enthusiastically paint all the other houses in the city. "They painted the windows, too.

Young Communists vacuumclean the streets, and workers paint green leaves on trees. Monuments are scrubbed with Yugoslav shampoo, and telephone lines cut by the Germans in World War II are at last repaired. Since Gorbachev was once party secretary responsible for agriculture, a committee of scientific experts is convened to consider "How many nipples on a cow's udder?" The answer: "It appears that there are four, although the cow was given a plan for five." Hard-to-get consumer goods arrive in shops overnight, goods that "we thought were entered in the Red Book," a Soviet compendium of rare and extinct plant and animal species.

"Of course, when you left, all the products disappeared from our shelves again. But during the time

you were here, we managed to buy enough things for the next three years." Gorbachev's letter writer therefore invites him to return in three years and adds. "But even if you can't come, tell our leaders that you are coming. Then they will do something again for the people." The spirit of Gogol is

Reported by Ann Blackman/Moscow

Beijing Surprise

Missiles for the Saudis

W hen China was accused by the U.S. last summer of selling Iran Silkworm missiles that threatened shipping in the Persian Gulf, officials in Beijing entered the diplomatic equivalent of a consent decree. They denied having made such sales but promised to make none in the future. The same officials are saying even less about another recently disclosed missile deal: the sale to Saudi Arabia of an undisclosed number of intermediaterange CSS-2 missiles capable of reaching virtually anywhere in the Middle East, including Israel. U.S. intelligence agencies confirmed

the missile deal only about two months ago, and it was disclosed publicly in the March 18 Washington Post. Initially taken by surprise, the U.S. has obtained assurances from King Fahd, via a letter to Ronald Reagan, that the warheads on the surface-to-surface missiles are not nuclear. The U.S. has nonetheless asked to in-

spect the missiles, which have an estimated range of around 1.600 miles. Rivadh has so far refused permission

The Saudis began searching for more powerful missiles than Washington was willing to supply after such weapons came into use in 1984 in the Iran-Iraq war. U.S. specialists contend that the

most likely target for the CSS-2s is not Israel but Iran, whose leaders have repeatedly threatened Saudi Arabia. Israeli military experts do not disagree with the analysis, but are discomfited at finding themselves within range of Arab missiles. When asked about the Saudi arsenal. Yossi Ben-Aharon, the director general of the Prime Minister's office, replied ominously, "Israel has acquired a reputation of not waiting until a potential danger becomes an actual danger.

The Israelis have since backed down from that threat. In fact, they are more concerned

alive after all.

about Soviet-built Scud B surface-to-surface missiles deployed by Syria and Iraq, weapons that have a range of up to 360 miles and can reach any part of Israel. Jerusalem is equally worried about Syria's SS-21 surface-to-surface missiles, also supplied by Moscow, which are

more accurate than Scuds. The U.S. was doubly

-By J.D. Reed.

miffed-at the Saudis for having acted secretively to acquire the weapons and at the Israelis for their threatening reaction. Last week the State Department confirmed that U.S. Ambassador Hume Horan is being recalled from Riyadh after a tour of only six months. It was unclear whether the missile flap was involved. but the issue could hardly have been a highlight of his brief tenure. Horan's possible successor: Walter Cutler, who served in the post from 1984 until last

summer.



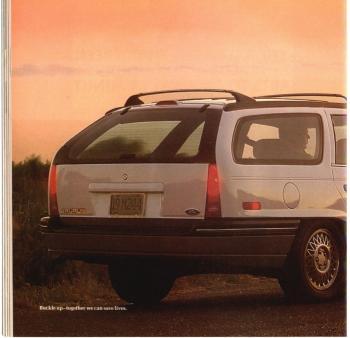
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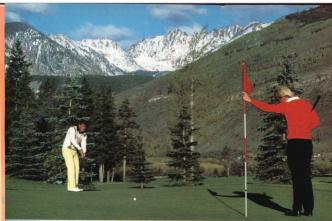
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World Notes



THE PHILIPPINES N.P.A. guerrillas in the field



COLOMBIA Alfredo Gutiérrez



AFGHANISTAN Soviet soldiers near Kabul

THE PHILIPPINES

Gringo Jumps Ship

Lieut Colonel Gregorio ("Gringo") Honasan is a master at manipulating military frustration. Last August thousands of underpaid soldiers joined him in an uprising that nearly toppled Philippine President Corazon Aquino. Last week Honasan apparently took advantage of unrest in the armed forces again. With the help of a reserve lieutenant said to be angry because he had not received a regular commission, Honasan escaped from a navy ship on Manila Bay, where he had been detained since his capture last December. Escaping with him on two rubber rafts were 13 of his guards. It took the government four months to capture Gringo after his failed coup, a time filled with destabilizing rumors of the Aquino regime's imminent collapse.

Earlier in the week Aguino had received some very good news. In a major raid in a suburb of Manila, soldiers rounded up five top Communist insurgents, including Romulo ("Rolly") Kintanar, the commander of the 25,000-member New People's Army, and Rafael Baylosis, the No. 2 man in the party. The arrests amounted to the single largest roundup of Communist rebels since Aquino came to power in 1986, and could create a crippling power vacuum within the N.P.A .- at least for a while.

SOUTH KOREA

The Ties That Bind

Before he took office in February, South Korean President Roh Tae Woo pledged to leave no "sanctuary" for wrongdom on "sanctuary" for wrongdom on the Wood of the

The arrest may backfire on Roh. Opposition politicians have seized on the scandal as evidence of how corruption went unpunished during the Chun years. The case has also reminded voters that as Home Minister from 1982 to 1983, Roh was responsible for overseeing Saemaul.

COLOMBIA

Next Candidate, Please

The job of Attorney General in Colombia is about as secure as that of a high-wire acrobat. In January, Attorney General Carlos Mauro Hoyos Jiménez was kidnaped and brutally murdered by henchmen of the

Medellín cocaine cartel for | advocating the reinstitution of a Colombian-U.S. extradition law. Now his replacement, Acting Attorney General Alfredo Gutiérrez Márquez, 63, has resigned. The reason: cocaine traffickers had used an airstrip on a ranch owned by his brother Libardo, 70. Gutiérrez may have lacked the right attitude for his job anyway. Three weeks after assuming his post, he suggested that the best way to defeat the drug lords was to legalize cocaine.

AFGHANISTAN

New Offer, Old Refusal

When is an arms cutoff not an arms cutoff? That was the riddle confronting Washington last week as it pondered what could be the final obstacle in talks on a Soviet pullout from Afghanistan. The trouble stems from a U.S. demand that Moscow end all military aid to the pro-Soviet regime in Kabul once Washington stops sending weapons to the mujahedin. Moscow refused to go along, and Washington offered a compromise: the U.S. will allow the Soviets to keep supplying Kabul if Moscow allows Washington to continue arm-

Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov called the novel approach "unacceptable," and Soviet

ing the rebels.

Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze again threatened a unilateral Soviet troop pullout. That would leave Moscow with no obligation to help restore peace in Afghanistan or resettle the 2 million Afghan refusees now living in Pakistan.

WEST GERMANY

Too Close A Call

For more than a decade, West German environmentalists have warned of a major nuclear disaster if, for example, a plane were to crash into an atomic plant. Aware of the fact that more NATO air maneuvers take place in their skies than in those of any other alliance partner. West Germans had more cause than ever to fear the unthinkable last week. A French air force Mirage F1 fighter based in Strasbourg and flying in an exercise above southern Germany crashed and exploded in a wooded area about a mile from two nuclear power plants outside the village of Reichersdorf, 50 miles northeast of Munich.

While experts in reactor safety insisted that the country's nuclear plants could withstand such a crash without radiation leakage, Hubert Weinzierl, chairman of West Germany's leading environmentalist group, claimed otherwise. Said the: "We missed a nuclear holocaust by the skin of our teeth."

Economy & Business

No Holds Barred

Battling for profits, retailers are making Wrestlemania seem sedate

his is a dangerous and potentially deadly time to be a retailer in America. The number of stores has grown at a rate far faster than the U.S. population, setting off a competitive battle as wild and unpredictable as a Wrestlemania spectacular. As the grappling gets rougher and tougher in an industry where takeovers and leveraged buyouts have become everyday events. some contestants are being tossed out of the ring and others are being dismembered or gobbled up by competitors

The struggle has become more desperate than ever in 1988, with the fiveyear economic expansion losing momentum. Few economists predict an outright recession this year, but the long-running consumer spending spree is expected to taper off considerably. While consumers seem to have taken the stock-market crash in stride, they are becoming worried about the debt load they are carrying. Result: the overabundant department stores. discount outlets and specialty boutiques will be fighting ever more fiercely for consumer dollars. Says Bernard Brennan, chairman of the Montgomery Ward chain: "There's no question about the upheaval in the industry.

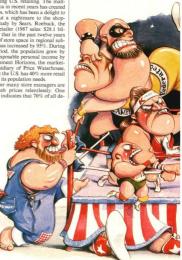
As sales level off, many contestants have concluded that the best way to thrive is to buy out some of the competition. For five weeks, Canadian Developer Robert Campeau engaged in a bidding battle with R.H. Macy for Federated Department Stores, a retail giant with 650 outlets, including such prestigious chains as Bloomingdale's, I. Magnin and Bullock's. Federated had tentatively agreed to a deal with Macy, which has 97 stores, but Campeau, who already owns the Allied Stores chain of 286 retail outlets in the U.S., hiked his offer. Tired of being tugged in two directions. Federated set last Wednesday as a deadline for final hids But the two sides kept sweetening their offers even beyond the cutoff, and Federated flip-flopped between choosing Cam-

On Friday, Federated finally announced a decision, and it was a surprise: Campeau won, but Macy came away with a consolation prize. The three companies signed an agreement in which Campeau will buy most of Federated for \$6.6 billion and Macy will acquire the Bullock's and I. Magnin chains for \$1.1 billion. Campeau plans to spin off parts of Federated. Filene's and Foley's, for example, have already been promised to May Department Stores. Retailing experts were relieved that the battle was over, but not altogether pleased with the outcome. Said Walter Loeb, an analyst at the investment firm Morgan Stanley: "I'm sad about the fact that a fine department-store company like Federated is being split up and decimated."

Both Campeau and Macy will now have more muscle to compete in the freefor-all engulfing U.S. retailing. The malling of America in recent years has created a glut of stores, which has been a delight to consumers but a nightmare to the shopkeepers. A study by Sears, Roebuck, the No. 1 U.S. retailer (1987 sales: \$28.1 billion), showed that in the past twelve years the amount of store space in regional suburban malls has increased by 95%. During the same period, the population grew by 12.9% and disposable personal income by 40%. Management Horizons, the marketresearch subsidiary of Price Waterhouse, estimates that the U.S. has 40% more retail capacity than its population needs.

No wonder many store managers are forced to slash prices relentlessly. One private study indicates that 70% of all de-

partment-store sales are generated by price markdowns. Retailers generally like to sell merchandise for 40% more than its wholesale cost, but these days the margin has shrunk below 20% for many items. Says William Panschar, a professor of marketing at Indiana University: "I can't walk into a department store anywhere in the country and not feel that it's sale time all the time.



While retailers often have to cut prices to move merchandise, the cost of importing many of the products they sell, including apparel, has surged because of the fall in the value of the dollar. The result is a severe squeeze on profits. The industry benchmark for an acceptable annual profit is a 15% return on stockholders' equity. But a survey by Management Horizons of 300 large U.S. retailers showed that only 33 of them have met that minimum standard for the past three years. Some of the others may not be around a year from now. Warns K mart Chairman Joseph Antonini: "We are in a very, very overstored situation, whether in specialty shops, discount outlets or department stores. You are going to see shakeouts across the board.

Traditional department stores, in particular, are beset by big discounters like K mart on one side and specialty retailers on the other. Such large chains as the Limited clothing boutiques, Radio Shack electronics stores and Tovs 'R' Us have all stolen substantial sales from department stores. At the same time, quality catalog retailers, including Land's End, the Sharper Image and Eddie Bauer, have captured a growing share of retail sales by catering to two-income couples with more money than time to spare. Foreign retailers have also entered the fray in a big way. Since 1980, for example, Benetton of Treviso, Italy, has opened more than 700 mid-priced fashion boutiques in the U.S.

Over the past few years, the competition has driven many department stores and general merchandisers out of business: Gimbels in New York City, Halle's in the Midwest. Livingston's in the West. Other retailers have been absorbed by competitors. Associated Dry Goods, for example, sold out to May Department Stores in 1986. That helped push May (1987 sales: \$10.3 billion) from No. 9 to No. 7 in a ranking of the largest retailers compiled by the investment firm Bear. Stearns

Spurred by the weak dollar, foreign companies have become some of the most aggressive acquisitors. After Campeau took over Allied in 1986, he spun off some of its divisions to other foreign firms. Australia's Hooker Corp. bought Bonwit Teller from Allied, and Britain's Marks & Spencer agreed to buy Brooks Brothers.

ning to change the standings of the largest retailers. Sears has held the top spot for 24 years, but K mart is gaining ground fast. Between 1983 and 1987, K mart's annual sales jumped 37%, to \$25.6 billion, while Sears' volume increased only 12%, to \$28.1 billion. At this rate, K mart could overtake Sears' merchandise group within

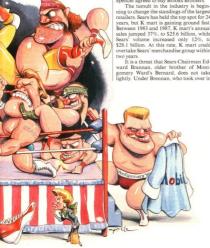
It is a threat that Sears Chairman Edward Brennan, older brother of Montgomery Ward's Bernard, does not take lightly. Under Brennan, who took over in 1986, the company is beginning a major reorganization of the 8,200-member headquarters staff in Chicago. Layers of management are being reduced so that Sears can respond more quickly to changes in fashions and consumer tastes. Managers responsible for buying different kinds of products will be given more freedom to make swift decisions. Says Michael Bozic, who heads Sears' merchandise group: "We've empowered all of our managers to design the kind of organization they need to compete in their own industries." Sears says the headquarters staff will be streamlined through attrition and early retirement rather than layoffs.

Pestered by smaller specialty stores. Sears is buying up some of them. The company has taken over the Western Auto Supply chain and acquired small groups of women's boutiques and eye-care shops. Sears is also experimenting with different sales tactics in its main stores. Example: the company plans to break its custom of selling only appliances bearing its Kenmore brand name and test public reaction to the appearance of other nationally known brands at one of its stores.

Executives at K mart's Trov. Mich., headquarters are not complacent either. Though its sales have risen rapidly through the opening of new stores, profit margins have been tight. Says Art Eden. manager of a K mart in Sterling Heights, Mich.: "Every corner has a shopping center, and it's all your competition. They are up the street and down the street. If you just take a nap, you've lost it. It's as tough as I've ever seen." The company is looking for ways to lure customers into the stores. Some K marts have installed branches of First Nationwide bank. In an effort to change its cut-rate image. K mart has been refurbishing many of its stores to give them a glitzier look.

he fastest growing of all the large retailers is Wal-Mart, the discount empire built by Billionaire Sam Walton from his Bentonville, Ark., home base. Between 1983 and 1987, its annual sales increased by a phenomenal 240%, to \$16 billion. That surge lifted Wal-Mart to the No. 3 spot among retailers, ahead of J.C. Penney (1987 sales: \$15.3 billion), Federated (\$11.1 billion) and Dayton Hudson (\$10.7 billion). In the past. Wal-Mart has concentrated on rural areas and not posed much of a threat to Sears, K mart or other established chains. But now Wal-Mart is expanding menacingly into several larger cities, including a few choice locations in K mart's home state of Michigan. At the same time, Wal-Mart has opened European-style hypermarkets in Garland, Texas, and Topeka, Kans. These gargantuan stores, covering some 220,000 sq. ft., sell everything from clothing to car supplies to groceries under one roof. In response, K mart plans to open some hypermarkets of its own.

While Wal-Mart was going big-time, Montgomery Ward was taking a tumble. Bought by Mobil for \$1 billion in 1976, Ward saddled the oil company with losses



Economy & Business



Powers joins not so much a series of executives as a dynasty of merchant-rulers

The Taipan from Yale

Jardines, the model for Noble House, picks its first U.S. boss

In Hong Kong it is known as the princely hong, or trading house, and its leader is the taipan, the big boss. Throughout most of its 156-years history, Jardine Matheson & Co. has been the foremost trader in the colony, and as readers of Novelisi James Clavell know, it has been run not so much ya series of secutives as by a dynasty of merchant-rulers. Now the succession has taken its strangest turn. Instead of draw-taken its strangest turn. Instead of draw-tangent for the control of the control of

The company that Powers will take over in June is like few others. In an era when most multinational firms have given up their old conglomerating ways, Jardines retains a panoply of seemingly unconnected businesses. With 76,000 employees in 22 countries, the company operates the eighth largest insurance brokerage in the world, a sizable construction firm, an investment bank, and Mandarin Oriental, a leading chain of hotels from San Francisco to Bangkok. Its Hong Kong operations range from the local Mercedes dealership to Mrs. Fields Cookies franchises. But the core of the company's holdings is \$3.2 billion worth of real estate in Hong Kong's central business districtfully 65% of the office and commercial space in the area

However valuable its assets, Jardines has been surpassed in size by two other Hong Kong trading firms—Cheung Kong and Swire—and has only recently begun to escape from a typhon of troubles. The company bought or built many of its Hong Kong buildings in the early 1980s, just before real estate values in the colony took a dive. The collapse resulted in part from

nervousness about the approach of 1997, when sovereignty over Hong Kong will pass from Britain to China. Wary of that transfer's consequences, Jardines decided in 1984 to shift its legal headquarters to Bermuda—a move that stirred lingering

resentment in Hong Kong.
The turbulence of the times may have
prompted Jardines to turn to a hyperfact
Born in Massapeua, N. Y. Powes graduated from Yale, where he played footbal,
and got a law degree from the University
of Viriginia in 1974. He began his career
of Viriginia in 1974. He began his career
Debevoice & Plimpton, then worked as a
money manager for the Ford Foundation
and as an investment banker for Jananies D.
Wolfensohn Inc. At Wolfensohn, Power
wick, the outgoins taining.

Keswick (pronounced keh-zik), the seventh taipan of that name to run Jardines since its founding in 1832, was impressed, and persuaded Powers to join the company in 1986 as chief strategist. Powers helped engineer a restructuring that reduced the firm's debt load and bolstered its earnings. The company's profits surged 64% in 1987, to a record \$100.4 million.

Powers has the boldness to keep building Jardines. Says he: "I think you can manage a conglomerate just fine, if you've got it structured just right." And he has absorbed a lot of the 19th century trader's ethors. Regarding future acquisitions, he declares, "We don't care what industry it's in, a stong as it's a good buy." To keep its far-flung empire flourishing. To keep its far-flung empire flourishing, and the state of the stat

that exceeded \$100 million a year in the early 1980s. From 1983 to 1987 Ward fell from No. 6 to No. 12 in the retail rankings as its sales declined 30%, to \$4.6 billion. But in 1985 Mobil brought in Bernard Brennan to turn things around. Brennan slimmed down the company, selling its catalog operation and a troubled discount division. He transformed many of the remaining stores, filling them with attractive specialty departments. When Ward returned to profitability, achieving record earnings last year of \$130 million, Mobil moved to get out of the retailing business while it could demand a good price. The buyer: none other than Bernard Brennan. who headed an investor group that agreed last month to pay \$3.8 billion to take the company private.

Many smaller chains are going on expansion binges to hold their own with the big boys. Zayre, with 362 department stores, has bought or opened 750 specialty outlets, including such chains as Homeclub and T.J. Maxx. Woolworth has moved into higher-priced markets by club and T.J. Maxx. Woolworth has moved into higher-priced markets by Locker and Tennis Lady. Say Joseph Carroll, a Woolworth vice president: "Wer no longer just a five-and-ten-cent

Many companies are enlisting technogoly to get a jump on competiors. To bring inventories closer into line with sales, a growing number of retailers are using the bar-code system pioneered more than a deaced ago by the grocery industry. As each item is rung up on the cash register, a company computer reads the product bar code and makes a change in its inventory records. In addition, sevent chansis, including I.C. Penney and May Department Stores, works to link their outless to that individual stores can exchange sales and inventory data with headquarters.

hile many retailers focus on keeping prices low, others concentrate on providing good service. Sales at Nordstrom, a Western chain with an exceptional reputation for attentiveness to customer needs. rose 18% last year, while profits surged 26%. Noting that success, a host of companies are making fresh efforts to upgrade service. Neiman-Marcus will spend \$20 million this year to improve its gift-wrapping and other customer-service operations. Castner Knott, a Nashville-based chain, has deployed "sales specialists." who are trained to be familiar with the merchandise in large areas of a store rather than just small sections. They roam the departments looking for customers who need help. Caught in one of the worst competitive crunches in their history, at least some department stores seem to be rediscovering a time-honored truth: treat people well, and chances are they will come back for more. By Janice Castro Reported by Thomas McCarroll/New York and

William McWhirter/Chicago



S E V E N THINGS THAT GO BETTER WITH



C O R V O

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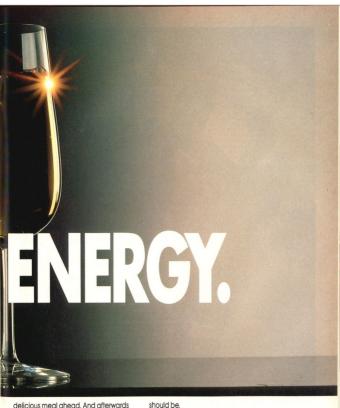


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WARM TO THE EXPERIENCE.



Putting a Leash on the IRS

Congress considers a taxpayers' bill of rights

S he owed no back taxes and had broken no law. But that did not stop the question the ruling and try to reach some Internal Revenue Service from seizing \$22,000 in Shirley Lojeski's bank account. Loieski, who breeds Thoroughbred horses in Pipersville, Pa., was unaware that anything was wrong until her checks suddenly started bouncing. Mystified at first, she eventually realized that the IRS had taken her money as a way to get at her boyfriend, Thomas Treadway. The agency had accused Treadway, who ran a trashmanagement business, of owing \$247,000 in back taxes, and suspected that he was stashing his money in Lojeski's account. Treadway later established that he did not owe the \$247,000, but not until four months after the case was settled did Lojeski finally get her money back. In the

sort of settlement. But in February, with the matter still unresolved, the agency grabbed the firm's bank account. Seddinger could not meet her payroll and had to halt operations. Her Congressman. Democratic Representative Robin Tallon, later managed to get the bank accounts released, but Seddinger is still iousting with the IRS to clear up what she calls "my nightmare."

Many enforcement actions are based on colossal blunders. One Texas taxpayer, who prefers to remain anonymous for fear of IRS retaliation, paid more than \$22,000 in taxes for 1987 but fell a whopping 2e short of the proper amount. The IRS promptly sent him a bill for \$400.31 in the IRS from collecting taxes in ways that create substantial hardships for taxpayers.

The legislation would bar the IRS from setting collection goals for agents or using the amount of money they bring in as a criterion for promotion. The IRS has an internal regulation prohibiting collection goals. but it is often ignored. On the door of an IRS office in Los Angeles, an agent told Congress, was taped a sign with the rallying cry: SEIZURE FEVER-CATCH IT. The employee with the best seizure rate in the office was given extra time off as a reward.

IRS Commissioner Lawrence Gibbs admits to some problems with tax collection but opposes the bill on the ground that the agency can correct any abuses internally. He points out that some of the measures in the proposed law, like the call for clear publications listing taxpayers' rights, have already been adopted. Pryor praises Gibbs for his efforts but says internal reform of the IRS can go only so far: "Gibbs has the same problem as Gorba-



Hit with a \$22,000 bill, Seddinger is trying to clear up "my nightmare"



meantime, she had to shut down her business temporarily and was nearly driven into bankruptcy

Lojeski's tale is just one of hundreds of horror stories that taxpavers can tell about the heavy-handed tactics of the Government's tax collectors. With the dreaded April 15 filing deadline approaching, Congress is considering bills that would ensure greater protection of taxpayers, including a measure sponsored by Senator David Pryor, an Arkansas Democrat, that has come to be known as the Taxpayers' Bill of Rights. While no one denies that the IRS should be tough on tax cheats, critics charge that the agency is often too quick to seize property, sometimes moves on the basis of flimsy evidence, and frequently does not give its target a chance to set things right. Says David Burton, a tax specialist with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce: "Situations between taxpavers and the IRS now get nasty very quickly, and they are hard to get straightened out."

Nancy Seddinger, who runs a real estate business in North Myrtle Beach, S.C., learned last December that her company owed \$22,000 in interest and fines. The penalties. Reason: the agency levied the fine on his entire tax liability-not just the missing 2c. The taxpayer is appealing the ruling

One of the most notorious IRS foulups occurred last July, when the agency seized \$70.76 in a bank account belonging to nine-year-old Carmin Fisher of Junction City, Ore. The Government was trying to collect part of a delinquent \$21,182 bill owed by Carmin's grandfather Charles Fisher. Only after the case got nationwide attention did the IRS back down and return the money, saving it had mistakenly assumed that Carmin's grandmother, who was listed as guardian, owned the account.

Under Prvor's Senate bill, the IRS would have to notify taxpayers of their rights in writing before they were audited or questioned. Citizens would have the right to sue for damages if the IRS made an unreasonable collection. And before seizing taxpayers' property, the IRS would first have to send out a written notice and then wait 30 days. Another reform in the bill would give new authority to the ombudsman within the IRS to issue "taxpayers' assistance orders." These could help prevent

chev. He is fighting with his own entrenched bureaucracy that is reluctant to give up power.

Pryor's bill runs counter to congressional efforts in recent years to strengthen tax collection. Faced with a huge federal deficit. Congress since 1981 has passed five laws that have increased penalties for tax evasion and given new enforcement powers to the IRS. Pryor contends that the tax collectors now have too much of an advantage. "It's time to give taxpayers some rights to even the playing field," he declares. Some form of his bill is expected to pass the Senate, but comparable legislation in the House has not yet garnered the support it needs from Illinois Democrat Dan Rostenkowski, who chairs the Ways and Means Committee. Rostenkowski is afraid that a taxpayers' rights bill would cost the Government as much as \$200 million a year-although that amounts to little more than one-tenth of 1% of the annual deficit. Pryor hopes to convince Rostenkowski that just the opposite will happen. Says the Senator: When people respect their tax system, revenues go up." -By Jerome Cramer/ Washington

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Business Notes







DAIRY PRODUCTS Soviet treat



TRADE U.S. sirloin costs \$20 per lb. in Tokyo

TRADE

Tough Talks With Tokyo

Several simmering economic disputes between the U.S. and Japan came to a boil last week. In one case, the White House had threatened to impose trade sanctions against Japan if it did nothing to open up its construction business to American companies by March 30. Before the deadline arrived. though. Tokyo agreed to give U.S. companies the same chance as their Japanese competitors to bid on 14 public works projects, valued at \$17 billion. But the Japanese government did not guarantee American firms any share of the construction work Meanwhile. Congress was

moving closer to slapping sanctions on Toshiba, the Japanese electronics giant, because it illegally sold the Soviets high-tech equipment used to make submarine propellers. A congressional committee working on a huge trade bill reportedly agreed to ban for three years the importation of machine tools and other products made by Toshiba Machine, the subsidiary that made the illicit sale. Though Toshiba's familiar consumer products would still be available, the provision would bar U.S. Government agencies from buying any Toshiba product for as long as three years. Still, the White House might veto a trade bill containing such sanctions.

Another contentious issue involves agriculture. An agreement governing Japanese imports of American beef and citrus products expired, and negotiators from the two countries were deadlocked. The U.S. wants Japan to remove its quotas on beef and citrus imports. With U.S. sirloin costing as much as \$20 per lb. in Tokyo. Japan was willing to liberalize quotas but refused to eliminate them. Since the ruling Liberal Democratic Party depends so heavily on farmers support, the government has not been able to take such a politically risky step.

REAL ESTATE

A Yen for a Hunk of Hawaii

Hawaii Seafood Magnate Richard Fowler did not hesitate when a Japanese company offered him \$21 million two months ago for his Honolulu mansion. Naturally, he took it. The house was assessed two years ago at \$2.6 million. Aided by the sharp decline of the dollar against the ven, the Japanese have spent some \$3 billion for Hawaiian real estate in the past two years, more than all foreign investment in the state between 1959 and 1986. Honolulu Mayor Frank

Fasi wants to put a stop to it. He has called for a state law banning most foreign ownership of residential and agricultural land. Reason: the payouts have driven up real estate assessments by as much as 100%, so that people who do not sell are facing a crushing tax burden. Though Fasi's proposed law may not be considered by the state legislature this year, many Honolulu residents now support his call for action.

DDTEE

Tabloid King KO's Congress

Last December, Massachusetts Senator Ted Kennedy helped push Congress into passing a provision that seemed to take dead aim at Rupert Murdoch. At the time. Murdoch was benefiting from temporary waivers of a Federal Communications Commission regulation that prohibits a firm from owning a newspaper and a TV station in the same community. The waivers allowed him to continue owning the Herald and WFXT-TV in Boston, and the New York Post and the congressional measure urged by Kennedy forbade the FCC to extend the time period of the waivers that were then in effect. Kennedy said Murdoch had the "fix in" with the FCC. For its part, the Herald tweaked Kennedy as the "fat

Last week the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington ruled that the amendment was unconstitutional since it was aimed only at Murdoch. But the ruling came too late for Murdoch to hang on to the Post. Real Estate Tycoon Peter Kalkow bought the paper last month for \$37 million.

DAIRY PRODUCTS

I Can't Believe It's Not Yogurt

After Mike Smolyansky, 40, and Edward Puccosi, 43, emigrated from the Soviet Union, one of the things they missed most was kefir. A cultured-milk product similar to yogurt but slightly efferencement, kefir (pronounced kuh, ferr in Russita) to yogurt but slightly efferencement, kefir (pronounced kuh, ferr in Russita) to the pronounced kuh, ferr in kefir kefir

Made by fermenting milk with grain from the kefir bushes that grow in the Middle East and southern Balkans, the drink until recently was available in the U.S. only in selected East and West Coast stores. Now Lifeway distributes 5,000 quarts of kefir a day in 20 states. Last month the company went public, raising \$600,000 as part of a plan to triple production. But Lifeway's founders have no thoughts of challenging yogurt giants Dannon and Yoplait. Says Smolyansky: "That's the great thing about America. There's always room for a little guy with a good product.'

Technology



House hunting in Florida: half a million properties on a single compact disc

The World on a Silver Platter

A marriage of computers and CDs starts to bear fruit

A 'first glance, the union of the personal computer and the compact disc would seem to be a perfect match. The same CD compact and the compact seem to the perfect match. The same CD compact seem to the compact seem to the seem to the compact seem to the seem

Now there are encouraging signs on both fronts. In the past year, the library of commercially available CD computer programs has doubled, from 150 to more than 300, and the number is expected to double again by the end of the year. Meanwhile, the market for CD players has received a boost from two of the turers. Last month Tandy announced that it would begin selling a \$995 computer CD player at many of its 7,000 Radio Shack stores. Apple has introduced a \$1,195 CD drive that not only plugs into its Macintosh and Apple II computers its Macintosh and Apple II computers

but also can be hooked up to a stereo to play music CDs.

A computer CD, known in the industry as a CD ROM (for "read only memory"), is just 4.72 in. in diameter but can store as much information as a stack of typewritten pages nine stories high. Dozens of reference books, from Grolier's Academic American Encyclopedia to Roget's Thesaurus, have appeared in CD form, and many more are on the way.

The newest discs take advantage of the medium's vast capacity for storing pictures and sounds as well as words. LaserScan Systems of Miami sells a CD that displays maps showing the location of 520,000 real estate properties in Broward County, Fla. British Airways has put the entire maintenance manual for a Boeing 757 on CD, so its repair people can find the illustration of a missing part with a few taps on a keyboard. Soon, travel agents who use American Airlines' SABRE reservation system will be able to show customers photographs of vacation spots and hotel rooms on the same screens that display flight information and fares

Still more variations of CD technology are on the way. Two giants of consumer electronics, Sony and Philips, are getting ready to unveil a CD device that comes with a built-in computer and can be hooked up to a TV set. A hand-held controller allows users to interact with the images on the screen. Sony and Philips, which call their new system CD-Interactive, hope it will be as big a hit as the music CD player. Philips conducted the first public demonstration of CD-I last month, and industry sources say the system could be ready for delivery as early -By Philip Elmer-DeWitt. as next year.

Reported by Charles Pelton/Seattle

Nothing to Sneeze At

It began with an electronic Christmas card that mysteriously materialized last December on terminals connected to one of IBM's research computer networks. Soon after came news that some desktop computers at Hebrew University in Israel were growing more and more lethargic, as if a hidden organism were sapping their strength. Then, one day last month, thousands of Macintosh users were greeted with an unexpected "message of peace" from the publisher of a Canadian computer magazine, which flashed briefly on their screens and disappeared without a trace

The computer world has been struck by an epidemic of vivruses," tiny fragments of computer software created by mischievous programmers and hidden within the instructions of a larger program. Like

their biological namesakes, computer viruses are characterized by an invade other software with which they come in contact. Thus they can be spread from computeer to computer by unsuspecting users who either swap disks or send programs to one another over telephone lines.

So far, most of the viruses that have come to light this year have been relatively benign, like the strain currently making the rounds of the public computer networks that causes infected machines equipped with voice synthesizers to intone the words "Don't panic." But the epidemic is giving the computer industry a chill. The virus that

struck Macintosh owners last month was apparently spread through a program called FreeHand which is published by Seattle-based Aldus Corp. FreeHand is the first commercial software product

known to have been a virus carrier. The bug could just as easily have instructed its host computers to erase their storage disks. Several companies are now marketing 'vaccine" programs that offer some protection against uninvited invaders, but none are foolproof. Experts advise users to make backup copies of their important disks and to regard each new piece of software as a potential carrier until it has been thoroughly

tested.



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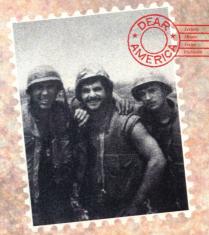
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Religion



Inside the mammoth First Assembly of God church in Phoenix: a combination of soul-winning zeal, warm fellowship and lively worship

Worshipers on a Holy Roll

Scandals and Swaggart fail to deter the Assemblies of God

o allow a preacher of the Gospel, when he is caught beyond the shadow of a doubt committing an immoral act . . . to remain in his position as pastor (or whatever), would be the most gross stupidity." Under the rules of the Assemblies of God, such a sinner must be suspended from preaching for one year and put on probation for a second year, or else there is a danger that the "whole church will be destroyed

When the Rev. Jimmy Swaggart wrote those sentiments in articles over the past 15 months in his magazine the Evangelist, he obviously believed them. But when the Assemblies last week prescribed precisely that punishment for him, Swaggart defied the decision and declared his intention to renew preaching next month. He thus not only raised questions about his own future but once again trained an unwanted spotlight on the church group that, before the scandals involving Swaggart and Jim Bakker, had become the fastest-growing denomination in the U.S.

After a day and a half of deliberating, singing and praying at an emergency session in Springfield, Mo., 206 general presbyters of the Assemblies toughened a threemonth suspension originally imposed by the local district council in Louisiana. They ruled that Swaggart must stay out of the pulpit and off TV for a year; even past tapes cannot be aired. Swaggart nonetheless announced that he would return to television on May 22, despite the risk of defrocking.

Though he has not said publicly what sins he committed, sordid details will be forthcoming just a few weeks after he goes back on the air. Penthouse magazine has solicited, for an undisclosed sum, Prostitute Debra Murphree to give her account of the pornographic acts Swaggart paid her to perform for him over a year's time.

The preacher's ministry is already losing \$1.8 million a month and could be hurt further by those revelations

To many of Swaggart's followers. though, the larger concern is what harm the past year of Gospelgate will do to his remarkable denomination. "We are ready to put this matter behind us," states the group's weary leader, G. Raymond Carlson. Understandably so. The double-barreled embarrassment involving Bakker and Swaggart, the Assemblies' two most visible evangelists, has unfor-

gettably tarnished preparations for the denomination's 75th anniversary next year. But so far the damage has been controllable, testimony to the extraordinary vigor of the Assemblies of God

With 2,135,000 adherents and 11,000 churches in the U.S., the denomination is one of the Pentecostal groups that took root in the early 1900s. A Sinner Swaggart gathering of pastors formed

the Assemblies in 1914 and almost immediately faced down a schism by sticking firmly to orthodox doctrine. Then and now the group's born-again converts undergo "baptism in the Holy Spirit," an experience that must be accompanied by speaking in tongues, or glossolalia

Once disdained by upper-crust Protestants as "Holy Rollers," Assemblies worshipers are now on a holy roll. Combining lively worship, warm fellowship and soul-winning zeal, the group posted an astounding 23.6% increase in church attendance between 1979 and 1985, a period when those crustier Protestants were struggling to stem decline. John Vaughn, who tracks church growth from Missouri's Southwest Baptist University, reports that two-fifths of America's most rapidly growing congregations are in the Assemblies. The mammoth First Assembly in Phoenix, for instance, boasts the nation's biggest Sunday school (8,000 students) and Holy Week pageants that have attracted tens of thousands. The Assemblies' headquarters in

Springfield, nicknamed the Blue Vatican for its aqua color, churns out 23 tons of Gospel literature a day and administers a \$142 million annual budget. Half the money supports a foreign effort that fields an impressive 1,530 missionaries. Swaggart's suspension is particularly significant to this endeavor. Not only did his ministry contribute \$23 million to missions in the past two years, but most con-

verts at Swaggart's worldwide revivals were referred to Assemblies congregations. The group now has 15.8 million members overseas, compared with just 4 million in 1974.

Long before the scandal, Swaggart was a source of dissension. Despite his high-tech ministry and opulent lifestyle, Swaggart was ever on the hunt for heresy and "worldliness," championing the simpler Pentecostalism of

old. He targeted dozens of the newer congregations that are experiencing the greatest U.S. growth. Many participate in the interdenominational charismatic movement, which often tolerates modern feel-good theologies and rejects old taboos (drinking, smoking, dancing). Remarks Tommy Reid, pastor of a 5,000-member church near Buffalo: "I certainly don't want to be from the backwoods, where there are rules and regulations a mile long." In the long run, ironically, the fall of the hellfire-breathing preacher could have a soothing, strengthening effect on the booming, still changing

denomination. -By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Tim Miller/Springfield and Richard Woodbury/Baton Rouge



Press

In Israel, Wounding the Messenger

An army ban on reporters sends a chilling warning

The state of Israel prides itself on being the only true democracy in the Middle East, enthusiastically relishing the slings and harrows of hard-fought elections, freedom of assembly and an aggressively sport of the sport of t

be banned again should events warrant it. Intensifying the effects of the blackout, the army closed for six months the Palestine Press Service, a Jerusalem-based network of Arab journalists. Foreign reporters thus lost a dependable supplement from inside the territories to the sparse information in army press releases.

The government's crackdown came as no surprise to most Israel-based journalists. In recent weeks they have been shooed away from refugee camps and villages by soldiers waving pieces of paper that said CLOSED MILITARY ZONE. Photogla South Africa." Kissinger, while not denying that he made the statements, has said that his remarks were distorted.

Nothing so incenses Israeli officials as comparisons with South Africa. There the white minority government has forbidden since last June virtually all press coverage of black unrest. The policy seems to have worked: in the weeks after the ban was imposed, first the disorders disappeared from the world's headlines, then the unrest itself began to subside. Other nations have shielded their conflicts from public scrutiny in a similar fashion. The bloody ground war between Iran and Iraq goes unmentioned in the world's press for months at a time because reporters have no access to the front lines. In the first years after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, almost nothing was known about the course of



Out of the action: excluded from a West Bank town, photographers and camera crews take pictures last week from behind an army roadblock

to more than 1,200, all of them racing across the dusty hills of the occupied territories to record the next episode of rock throwing and tire burning.

Soon, however, there were other images to record: those of Jewish soldiers shooting and beating demonstrators who were armed only with stones, roughing up were more only with stones, roughing up bones of unarmed captives. As these images flashed around the world, soiling the reputation of the once vaunted Israel Defense Force. Jerusalem quickly saw the flense Force. Jerusalem quickly saw the Officials came to an item of media policy. Culsion: the press was to blane.

Last week the government took the strongest action yet to hobble the messenger. Determined to deal firmly with the widespread protests called to mark Palesley of the properties of the properties of the properties from the occupied territories for three days, except for a dozen pool reporters accompanied by the military. Said 1.DF. Spokesman Colonel Ranana Gissin. cites and institute the violence.

The ban was lifted at week's end, but officials made it clear that reporters could raphers and television cameramen especially have been subjected to a campaign of intimidation. On Jan. 27, members of a CRS television crew were attacked by troops in the Gaza Strip after they filmed soldiers beating a Palestinian youth. On Feb. 5, two foreign photographers driving in the West Bank were startled by a senior in the West Bank were startled by a senior of the properties of the senior of the senior of the going to kill you'd Cameras have been smashed and film confiscated. Israel's Foreign Press Association estimates that nearly 100 journalists have been attacked by Israel isoldiers.

sraele, remembering that the US, and Britain limited press overage of the Grenada and Falkland Island invasions, ask defensively why Jineat should hesitate to do the same in the West Bank. The analogs of but the line between the secrecy near loss of the press of the control of the control of the civil unrest, but the idea of shatting out the press has got a sympathetic hearing in ellie quarters. Last month former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was quarted as radio are a group of American Jewshi leaders that the and the first set is to throw out television. A the conflict, though thousands were dying. When reporters cannot be kept out, governments seem increasingly willing to resort to intimidation and sabotage. In Panama, General Manuel Noriega tried to solve the problem of a bad press last week by having troops haras a group of foreign reporters, breaking cameras and destroying film.

For Israelis, the question seems to turn on whether the uprising is seen as a civil rights struggle or a civil rebellion. "I'm not for freedom of the press," rightwing Knesset Member Geula Cohen asserted. "I'm for the freedom of Israel." But few expect the South African solution-stopping the disorders by starving them of media attention-to work in Israel. The often contentious Israeli press is unlikely to tolerate continued censorship. Ido Dissentchik, editor of the conservative daily newspaper Ma'ariv, called the shutdown of the territories a "hysterical step" by desperate officials trying to hide their own actions. Whatever the consequences for the Jewish state's fragile image, said Dissentchik, "Israeli authorities must live with this problem called democracy." -By Michael S. Serrill. Reported by Robert Slater/Jerusalem

Ethics

On Granting an Iranscam Pardon

A debate grows over the President's power vs. the public good

housands of criminal offenders routinely petition the President of the U.S. for a pardon. Provided they have served their jail terms, stayed clean for five to seven years, and filled in a four-page form explaining their case, a pardon may be forthcoming-but the process is likely to take at least three years. Chances are, though, that if Oliver North and his co-defendants in the Iranscam scandal receive pardons, the deal will not happen quite that way. President Reagan will probably grant their petitions with the stroke of a pen, without a threeyear wait and perhaps even without a trial

For many Americans, that is just the problem. The President possesses the constitutional power to pardon whom he will whenever he wishes, and he can exercise that right on either whim or instinct. But should he issue pardons in the Iranscam case at all? And what are the ethics involved.

Larry Simon, professor of constitutional law at the University of Southern California, opposes any Iran-contra pardons, but he sees no moral issue involved. Since pardons by definition go to the guilty, he says, there is no way to argue the ethics of who deserves one and who does not. But Michael Josephson, a former Loyola law professor who now heads his own ethics institute in Los Angeles, notes an important distinction. A pardon, he believes, should never be issued by a person involved in the case, as Reagan is in the Iran-contra scandal. No President ever seems to have done so. "Even when Ford pardoned Nixon, there was no question of Ford's being involved in Watergate," says Josephson. "Reagan, on the other hand, could pardon everyone, theoretically including himself. I can't possi-

No one doubts the President's pardoning power is aboute. It is, in fact, a holdwer from the days of absorbed in the infact, a holdwer from the days of absorbed the president of the days of absorbed them as probe on the the president. "One at Chief Executive decidence of the president of the president of the days of t

bly see how that could be proper.



President Ford announcing pardon of Richard Nixon, Aug. 8, 1974

Is it odd to forgive before guilt is established?

Only rarely, when the pardoned is famous enough, have ethical issues been raised. But complaints go back at least to George Washington's pardon of two leaders of the Whisky Rebellion, and have surfaced during campaigns to pardon Eugene Debs, Tokyo Rose, Jefferson Davis and Samuel Mudd, the physician jailed for setting the broken leg of Lincoln's assasin, John Wilkes Booth.

Most lawyers object to pardons before a htrial. "To pardon is to forgive," says New York University Law Professor Stephen Gillers. "Tils odd to forgive before guilt is established." It has rarely happened. For most of the nation's history, some or all punishment after conviction. Even more significantly, any pretrial pardon for Oliver North and his companions would have great practical conseions would have great practical conse-

Mudd in prison; Whisky Rebellion insurrectionists

quences. It would head off the possibility that both Reagan and George Bush might be called to testify. Some think such a pardon would be an improper short-circuiting of the legal process.

Judge Gerhard Gesell's announced determination to move the indictments along quickly could make a pardon more likely. since a trial could be under way by Election Day, with a verdict in hand before Reagan leaves office on Jan. 20. One scenario is that Reagan would defiantly pardon the Iranscam defendants in the final hours of his presidency; another is that he would grant a pardon right after the election. Waiting until just after the voting would be ethically very dubious. says Washington Lawyer James Hamilton, a former Senate Watergate committee counsel. He believes it would be "highly inappropriate, depriving the voting public of information it has a right to know.

The most common argument against pardoning the Iranscam defendants is that their actions are too serious to forgive without repentance. "A pardon would say that the democratic process is

only a valid one sometimes, and that highly committed patriots can set it aside—like Dr. Strangelove," notes Ethicist Josephson. He adds, "It would send a message that there are times when we will permit high-level Government officials to lie to Congress. How could we trust anything afterward?"

The ethical weight thus seems overwhelmingly in opposition to any pardons. But if the President decides to follow his own moral compass, it will probably be out of a sense of loyalty to those involved and a determination, as Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once wrote of an earlier pardon, "that the public welfare will be better served."

Strangely enough, the President could dust off and reissue a press release written to explain pardons given in 1981 to two men "who acted on high principle to bring an end to the terrorism that was

threatening our nation." The two were high-ranking FBI officials convicted of authorizing illegal breakins during 1972-73 investigations of the Weather Underground. The response by the prosecutor in that case, John Nields Jr., who served as chief House counsel in the Iran-contra hearings last summer, is just as apt today. Nields argued that pardons in such cases "send out a terrible signal-that the Government can violate the Constitution and then forgive itself." -By John Leo. Reported by David Beckwith/Washington and Elizabeth L. Bland/Los Angeles

Profile

TIBET'S LIVING BUDDHA

The **DALAI LAMA**, 14th in a line of God-Kings, seems a remote, otherwordly exile, yet he is leading his countrymen at a turning point in their 29-year struggle for freedom

ogs bark in the Himalayan night. Lights flicker across the hillside. On a pitch-black path framed by pines and covered by a bowl of stars, a few ragged pilgrims shuffle along, muttering ritual chants. Just before dawn, as the snowcaps behind take on a deep pink glow, the crowd that has formed outside the three-story Namgyal Temple in northern India falls silent. A strong, slightly stooping figure strides in, bright eyes alertly scanning the crowd, smooth face breaking into a broad and irrepressible smile. Followed by a group of other shaven-headed monks, all of them in claret robes and crested vellow hats. the newcomer clambers up to the temple roof. There, as the sun begins to rise, his clerics seated before him and the solemn, drawn-out summons of long horns echoing across the valley below, the Dalai Lama leads a private ceremony to welcome the Year of the Earth Dragon

On the second day of Losar, the Tibetan New Year, the man who is a living Buddah to roughly 14 million people gives a public audience. By 8 a.m. the line of petitioners stretches for half a mile along the winding mountain road outside his airy bungalow—leathery mountain men in gautern to be strength of the strength o

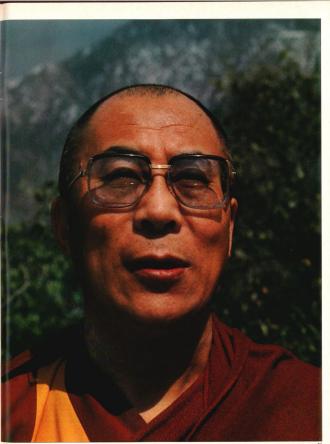
In Tibet, he explains later, Losar used to be conducted on the roof of the 13-story Potala Palace, with cookies laid out for the masses. "Every year I used to be really worried when the people rushed to grab the cookies. First, that the old building would collapse, and second, that someone would fall over the edge. Now"—the rich baritone breaks into a hearty chuckle—"now things are much calmer."

It was 29 years ago last week that the Tibetan uprising against China's occupying forces propelled the Dalai Lama into Indian exile. Yet the spirit of his ancient, fairy-tale theocracy is still very much alive in Dharmsala, a former British hill station 250 miles north of New Delhi. Here, attended by a State Oracle, a rainmaking lama, various medicine men, astrologers and a four-man Cabinet, the Dalai Lama, 52, incarnates all the beliefs and hopes of his imperiled homeland, much as he has done since first ascending the Lion Throne in Lhasa at age four.

Yet even as the "Protector of the Land of Snows" sustains all the secret exoticism of that otherworldly kingdom reimagined in the West as Shangri-La, he remains very much a leader in the real world. Since the age of 15, he has been forced to deal with his people's needs against the competing interests of Beijing, Washington and New Delhi. That always inflammable situation reached a kind of climax last fall, when Tibetans rioted in Lhasa, their Chinese rulers killed as many as 32 people, the Dalai Lama held his first major press conference in Dharmsala, and the U.S. Senate unanimously condemned the Chinese actions. Riots have erupted in recent weeks, but even before that, the modest man in monk's raiment had found himself not only the spiritual symbol linking 100,000 Tibetans in exile to the 6 million still living under Chinese rule, but also, more than ever, a political rallying point. "The 14th Dalai Lama may be the most popular Dalai Lama of all," he says, smiling merrily. "If the Chinese had treated the Tibetans like real brothers, then the Dalai Lama might not be so popular. So"-he twinkles impishly-"all the credit goes to the Chinese!"

On paper, then, the Dalai Lama is a living incarnation of a Buddha, the hierarch of a government-in-exile and a doctor of metaphysics. Yet the single most extraordinary thing about him may simply be his sturdy, unassuming humanity, The Living God is, in his way, as down to earth as the hardy brown oxfords he wears under his monastic robes, and in his eyes is still the mischief of the little boy who used to give his lamas fits with his invincible skills at hide-and-seek. He delights in tending his flower gardens, looking after wild birds, repairing watches and transistors and, mostly, just meditating. And even toward those who have killed up to 1.2 million of his people and destroyed 6.254 of his monasteries, he remains remarkably forbearing. "As people who practice the Mahayana Buddhist teaching, we pray every day to develop some kind of unlimited altruism," he says, "So there is no point in developing hatred for the Chinese. Rather, we should develop respect for them and love and compassion.

he 14th God-King of Tibet was born in a cowshed in the tiny farming village of Takster in 1935. When he was two, a search party of monks, led to his small home by a corpse that seemed to move, a lakeside vision and the appearance of auspicious cloud formations. identified him as the new incarnation of Tibet's patron god. Two years later, after passing an elaborate battery of tests, the little boy was taken amid a caravan of hundreds into the capital of Lhasa, "Home of the Gods." There he had to live alone with his immediate elder brother in the cavernous. 1,000-chamber Potala Palace and undertake an 18-year course in metaphysics. By the age of seven, he was receiving envoys from President Franklin Roosevelt and leading prayers before 20,000 watchful monks; yet he remained a thoroughly normal little boy who loved to whiz around the holy compound in a pedal car and instigate fights with his siblings. "I recall one summer day-I must have been about seven-when my mother took me to the Norbulingka Summer Palace to see His Holiness," recalls the Dalai Lama's youngest brother Tenzin Choegyal. "When we got there, His Holiness was watering his plants. The next thing I knew, he was turning the hose on me!



It was at this time too that the precocious boy first displayed his prodigious gift for things scientific, teaching himself the principles of the combustion engine and fixing the palace's generator whenever it went on the blink. To satisfy his insatiable curiosity about a world he was permitted to glimpse only through the silk-fringed curtains of his golden palanquin, the young ruler set up a projector by which he eagerly devoured Tarzan movies. Henry V and, best of all, home movies of his own capital. Often, he recalls, he would take a telescope onto the palace roof and wistfully gaze at the boys and girls of Lhasa carelessly going about their lives

In 1950 the isolation of the "Wish-Fulfilling Gem" and his mountain kingdom was shattered as the Chinese attacked from eight different directions. Suddenly the teenage ruler was obliged to take a crash course in statesmanship, traveling to Beijing to negotiate with Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong. Finally, in March 1959, when a bloody confrontation seemed imminent as 30,000 steadfast Tibetans rose up against Chinese rule, the Dalai Lama slipped out of his summer palace dressed as a humble soldier and set off across the highest

mountains on earth. Two weeks later, suffering from dysentery and on the back of a dzo, a

hybrid yak, the "Holder of the White Lotus" rode into exile in India Since then, his has been a singularly delicate balancing act, the guest of a nation that would prefer him to remain silent and the enemy of a nation that much of the world is trying to court. Undeterred, the Dalai Lama has organized 53 Tibetan settlements in India and Nepal and set up institutes to preserve his country's arts, its scriptures and its medical traditions. In recent years he has begun to race around the world like a Buddhist John Paul II-lecturing at Harvard, meeting the Pope and attending to

his flock, be they unlettered peasants or the American actor Richard Gere (a student of Buddhism since 1982). Always inclined to see the good in everything, he feels that exile has in some respects been a blessing. "When we were in Tibet, there were certain ceremonial activities that took up a lot of time, but the substance was-not much. All those exist no longer. That's good, I think. Also, because we are refugees, we have become much more realistic. There's no point now in pretending

Many young Tibetans would like their leader to be more militant. Angrily noting that there are more than 3,000 political prisoners in central Tibet alone and that Beijing has at least 300,000 troops on the "Rooftop of the World," they advocate violence. But the Dalai Lama refuses to be intemperate. "Once your mind is dominated by anger," he notes thoughtfully, "it becomes almost mad. You cannot take right decisions, and you cannot see reality. But if your mind is calm and stable, you will see everything exactly as it is. I think all politicians need this kind of patience. Compared with the previous Soviet leaders, for example, Gorbachev, I think, is much more calm. Therefore, more effective

Pacifism, however, does not mean passivity. "Ultimately," he continues, "the Chinese have to realize that Tibet is a separate country. If Tibet was always truly a part of China, then, whether Tibetans liked it or not, they would have to live with it. But that's not the case. So we have every right to demand our rights.'

The Dalai Lama spends much of his time reflecting on how Tibetan Buddhism can teach, and learn from, other disciplines. He believes, for example, that Buddhism can show Marxism how to develop a genuine socialist ideal "not through force, but through reason, through a very gentle training of the mind, through the development of altruism." He sees many points of contact between his faith and "psychology, cosmology, neurobiology, the social sciences and physics. There are many things we Buddhists should learn from the latest scientific findings. And scientists can learn from Buddhist explanations. We must conduct research, and then accept the results. If they don't stand up to experimentation," he says, beaming subversively, "Buddha's own words must be rejected."

Such quiet radicalism has at times unsettled followers so devout that they would readily give up their lives for their leader. In the draft constitution he drew up in 1963, the God-King included, against his people's wishes, a clause that would allow for his impeachment. Now he is considering new methods for choosing the next

Dalai Lama-adopting an electoral system similar to the Vatican's, perhaps, or selecting on the basis of seniority, or even dispensing with the entire institution. "I think the time has come-not necessarily to take a decision very soon, but to start a more formal discussion, so that people can prepare their minds for it

In the meantime, the exiled leader will continue to pursue a simple. selfless life that is close to the Buddhist ideal of the Middle Way-neither hostile to the world nor hostage to it. Buddhism's supreme living deity still refuses to fly first class and thinks of himself always, as he told

the press last fall, as a "simple Buddhist monk." Though he is one of the most erudite scholars of one of the most cerebral of all the world's philosophies, he has a gift for reducing his doctrine to a core of lucid practicality, crystallized in the title of his 1984 book, Kindness, Clarity and Insight (Snow Lion

Press). "My true religion," he has said, "is kindness It is, in fact, the peculiar misfortune of the Chinese to be up against one of those rare souls it is all but impossible to dislike. Beijing has felt it necessary to call him a "political corpse, bandit and traitor," a "red-handed butcher who subsisted on people's flesh." Yet everyone who meets the Dalai Lama is thoroughly disarmed by his good-natured warmth and by a charisma all the stronger for being so gentle

To an outsider, the life of a living Buddha can seem a profoundly lonely one. In recent years, moreover, nearly all the people closest to the Tibetan ruler-his senior tutor, his junior tutor, his mother and the elder brother who in youth was his only playmate-have died. Yet this, like everything else, the Dalai Lama takes, in the deepest sense, philosophically. "Old friends pass away, new friends appear," he says with cheerful matter-of-factness. "It's just like the days. An old day passes, a new day arrives. The important thing is to make it meaningful: a meaningful friend-or a meaningful day." By Pico Iver/Dharmsala

NEITHER HOSTILE TO THE WORLD NOR

hostage to it, he thinks of himself as a "simple Buddhist monk." "My true religion," he has said, "is kindness."

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Living

When Women Take Up Arms

More are intent on being their own protectors

A merican women are taking up arms. Propelled by a rising tide of crime, more and more of them no longer seem willing to trust their safety solely to their hasbands, their neighbors or the local possible of their hasbands, their neighbors or the local possible of their hasbands, their neighbors or the local sole to nore held steady, gan owneep hip among women jumped 55%, to more than 12 million, according to a Gallup poll commissioned by gummaker Smith & Wesson. Even more striking, the poll found that the number of women who were considerable to the striking of the striking the poll found that the number of women who were considerable to the striking the poll found that the number of women who were considerable to the striking the poll found that the number of women who were considerable to the striking the poll found that the number of women who were considerable to the striking the poll found that the strikin

The movement to own and carry guns is spread fairly evenly among age groups, across professions and around the country. "These are young women, older women; many are professional, but some are housewives," says Barbara Mueller, vice president of the Illinois State Rifle Association. "They don't have a cigarette dangling from the corner of their mouth, and they're not closet commandos." Though more women are appearing at shooting ranges and gun clubs, the sporting aspect is not really the issue. The vast majority who are buying guns-about 75%, by most estimates-are doing so to protect their homes and themselves.

Gun owners and sociologists agree that the trend reflects a change of thinking, a rejection of traditional roles. Jerome Skolnick, a professor at the Univer-



A hello to arms: shopping for a gun in New York

sity of California law school at Berkeley, describes the increased gun ownership among women as a "gender revolution. The notion that only men protect is no longer valid." Agrees Teryl Jansons, a Massachusetts attorney: "People are less apt to take advantage of your situation, since you don't look like you're afraid—because voji're not."

Shooting instructors observe that women view guns more coldly, and cautiously, than do men. Some suggest that women make better shots. "Men come in with all sorts of bad habits," says Michael Freire of the Tamiami Range and Gun Shop in Florida. "They see themselves as either Rambo, Roy Rogers or Daniel Boone." Women, he adds, take

their time in learning to shoot. "Disciplines is the whole point of training inplains Carol Kolen a Chicago psychologist who has taken shooting lessons." It gives me the feeling that I could take care of myself. "Most female gun owners, say police officials, are careful to abid by the laws regulating possession of handguns. But women are less likely than men to advertise their owners the shoot about it," says Saren Elies, Ji, from robbed late one night last year. "I don't think it's asod fer people to know."

The new gun market has prompted manufacturers to design lightweight weapons with smaller grips, purses with built-in holsters and other accessories gun Nove veen sponsored a "gun and fashion show" in which scantily clad models demonstrated how a woman in a bikini can carry a concealed weapon (in her hairbow), A how-to video, A Woman, has wolf more than 8,000 copies,

Many law-enforcement specialists fear the residual effects of even broader handgun ownership in a society already saturated with weapons. "The worst reason to buy a gun is solely for protection, says Police Chief Robert Bonneville of Glencoe, Ill., "because guns are very rarely used to stop a break-in. They are most commonly stolen from homes." The statistics of gun ownership are chilling, for men or women; while about 200 people a year successfully use handguns to defend themselves, another 22,000 die from guns as a result of homicides, suicides or accidents. -By Nancy R. Gibbs. Reported by Robert Buderi/Boston and Sheila Gribben/Chicago

Milestones

EXPECTING. Andrea McArdle, 24, the ginger-haired singer-actress who leaped to fame as the 13-year-old star of the 1977 Broadway musical hit Annie, and her husband Composer-Producer-Arranger Edd Kalehoff, 40; their first child; in September.

SENTENCED. Rick L. Gates, 33, the former Conrail engineer whose locomotive collided with an Amtrak passenger train near Baltimore on Jan. 4, 1987; to five years in prison; in Towson, Md. Gates pleaded guilty seven weeks ago to a single manulaughter count. He admitted smokwartings that might have prevented the crash, in which 16 people died and more than 175 were injured.

SENTENCED. Mordechai Vanunu, 34, who told the *Sunday Times* of London that Israel has a stockpile of between 20 and 30 nuclear warheads and bombs; to 18 years

in prison, after being convicted of treason, espionage and disclosing state secrets; in Jerusalem. Once a technician at Israel's Dimona nuclear reactor, Vanunu revealed nuclear secrets to the paper in September 1986. He was then abducted and smuggled back to Israel to stand trial.

DIED. Theodore Bernard (Ted) Kluszewski, 63. first baseman for the Cincinnati Reds. of a heart attack; in Cincinnati. In a 15-year major league career, 78g Kul' hit led the National League with 141 runs batted in A former college football end, the strapping Kluszewski cut the sleeves from his baseball uniform to make room for his budging blegs, a move some optimization of the control of the strapping former strapping the strapping t

DIED. Edgar Faure, 79, French politician of the post-World War II period; in

Paris. In a career spanning three decdues. Faure held eleven Cabrier posts, including that of Prime Minister. Under President Charles de Gaulle, he masterminded the sweeping educational reforms born out of the 1968 student protests. He was a member of the French Academy, composed music, wrote detective novels under a pseudonym, and spoke fluent Russian. He once annaced a complex four-hour negotiation without a translator.

DIED. Jim Jordan, 91, who with his wife Marian delighted radio audiences from the Depression through the postwar years in Fibber McGee and Molly: in Los Angeles. The show's familiar comedy routines, especially those concerning Fibber's chronically over-stuffed closet, made it one of the country's most popular radio features for more than 20 years.

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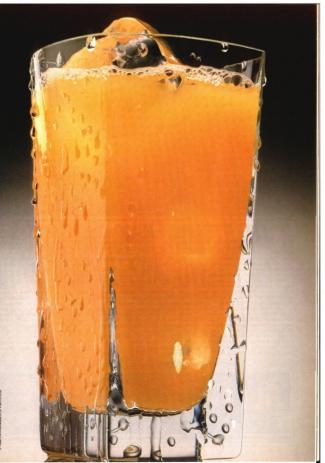
The outcome surprised even us. Of the

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RUMS OF PUERTO RICO



Commonwealth of Busses Bice

Education

The Canons Under Fire

Stanford cuts its book list

or two years a debate has raged at Stanford University and reverberated through scores of other schools over a question that could set new directions for American higher education. The issue: Should students be required to read a fixed core of works on Western civilization, and, if so, what should be in it? The heart of the dispute at Stanford has been whether to amend or remove from the university's freshman Western culture courses a roster of 15 prescribed classics. Many scholars regard those works, ranging from Homer and Dante to Darwin and Freud. as part of a sacred canon. But revisionists. including many blacks, Hispanics and women, want to build a new, theme-based program rather too cleverly called CIV (short for Culture, Ideas and Values).

"Nobody is questioning the value of continuing to teach the great works of Western culture," insists CIV Proponent Thomas Wasow, dean of undergraduate studies. The fear that just such a question was being raised, however, brought belows of protest from academic conservatives like Education Secretary William Bennetz, A devoid classicist, the accused management of the control of t

Last week Stanford's faculty senate voted 39-4 for a compromise revision of their canon. This fall the original 15 books, all of them written by white, Western males, will be pared down. Out goes Homer, as well as Darwin and Dante. The six new requirements are unspecified works from Plato, the Bible, St. Augustine. Machiavelli, Rousseau and Marx.



estern civilization class just before the vote: recognizing culture's essential pluralism

Next year Stanford's Western Culture Program will be formally replaced by CIV. All freshmen will read works "from at least one" non-European source chosen by the professor, who is required to give "substantial attention to issues of race, sender and class."

Faculty members point out that the new list, which was never meant to be exhaustive, will be supplemented by readings that will vary depending on the emphasis of different civi teachers. Yet under the phase of the

All the way, if hard-core revisionists are able to suit the word to the action. "We want the idea of a canon eliminated," insists William King, 21, chairman of Stanford's Black Student Union "The idea that there could be a core list is Euro-centric and biased." Similar opinions are heard at other schools. At Sarah Law-rence College in Bronxville, N.Y. Professor Armold Krupat declares fally that there is nothing sacred or broadly cultured about any such canon. In fact, he claims, the idea "is almost exclusively Wasp, male and East Coast."

Many professors who grew up on the turbulent campuses of the 1968 now challenge the notion that any particular book should be required. They point out that classic literature courses have ignored books not written by white males. Says Cornell Professor Henry Gates, architect of a new backward of the state of the control of the control of the control of power has shifted within traditional futured is a transmission of the control of the control of power has shifted within traditional futured is a state of the growing presence of women, blacks and people of color." Duke's Barbara Hermstein Smith, president of the influenteements in Smith, president of the influenteements in Smith, president of the influenteements and the state of the stat

The Six Who Emerged from the Shakeup













The Bible's Abraham, Plato, St. Augustine, Machiavelli, Rousseau and Marx are the only names that the faculty canonized for incoming fre-



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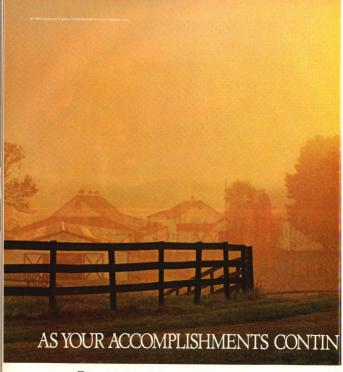
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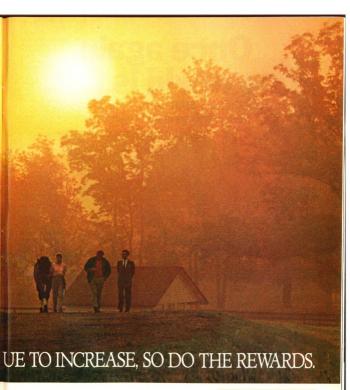


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-Sport-

tial Modern Language Association, notes approvingly that "writings by women and black authors are now being studied and taught" right alongside the old canon. Examples of the new eelecticism:

➤ Sarah Lawrence's Krupat starts his American Lit students with parallel readings in Genesis and Iroquois creation stories (which he sees as part of a neglected oral literary tradition). He dropped selections from William Faulkner in favor of Michael Gold's Jews Without Money, a tale of turn-of-the-century Manhattan.

▶ At Pittsburgh's Carnegie-Mellon University, English Chairman Gary Waller assigns his classes the recent cult flin assign blue Velvet for comparisons with works by T.S. Eliot and William Butler Yeats.

In the University of Arizona's future Western Civ courses, James Baldwin may stand with the seventh-century B.C. poet Sappho, while the Homeric Hymn to Demeter shares center stage with Virginia Woolf's Mrs. Dalloway.

Such mix and-match ideas are anathmat to the likes of the University of Chicago's Allan Bloom, best-selling author of The Closing of the American Mind, who loudly deplores the blending of noble old wheat with trendy chaff. Stephen Balch, president of the National Association of Scholars, criticists the broadening of core lists as a form of "intellectual affirmative action" rather than a fresh intission of litcation" rather than a fresh intission of insionists. "Bave designed a project to aller the nature of civilization itself."

o confirmed revisionists, such remarks seem like more of the mossrensted obstructionism they feel has slowed schelarly progress for centuries. They point to the bufly removal of Sir Thomas More from Oxford by his father Thomas More from Oxford by his father lum had added the newly "with it" subject of Greek. They like to recall the warms McCosh in 1884 that removing Latin and Greek requirements would leave 'the whole anison of the control of the control of the concent world'. a unknown even to our educient world'. a unknown even to our edu-

cated men.

Given the probing, contentious nature
of scholarly minds, any permanent settlement of these centuries-old issues seems unlikely. Despite the soul searching at Stanford and elsewhere, no reading its is ever
going to satisfy erycone. Nor shoft-units
ings canced the they constituted a mighty
losse little canon—for example, two pieces
by Freud, but no Shakespear and not a
word by any American writer or political
billisospher, such as James Madison.

Nonetheless, the debate may be the healthiest thing to have happened around academe in years. "I think this will open up usues that Bennett and Bloom tried to close," says Paul Seaver, a Stanford history professor. "Namely, what is the nature of our culture, and how do we educate our culture, and how do we educate our culture, and how do we educate our county people to become knowledgeable professor of the control of the county of t

Can't See Woods For the Tees

Metaling with tradition

Spring is in the air (fore), and old men's fancies are returning to thoughts of golf, an ancient reverie that may seem to have lost a little romance since Jack Nicklaus began driving recently with a metal wood. But maybe not.

On the tongue and on the ball, metal wood is the dumbers-sounding oxymmoron since jumbo shrimp. But, like television purmalist, its suegle has profiferated be-journalist, its suegle has profiferated step to the state of the shring state. If the shring has been supported to the shring the state of tempered wood, the heads of drivers are going steel. If even his clean is bonging these days instead of hashing, the game has certainly changed. "I still hit yards longer," he estimates with charming precision," but I hit the metal wood straighter. That's what convinced me I am greated the straighter in the life in going to desire when the straighter in going to the straighter in the life in going to the straighter and the life in going to the straighter and the life in going to the straighter than the life in the life in

It does no good to remind him that in the course of winning 20 major championships, he hit a few fairways previously. Nicklaus thinks he has found magic again. The last time was two years ago this week at the Masters in Augusta, Ga., where anyone with a wet eye could see that his mother in the gallery and his son at his side had more to do with a sixt hyickland.

tory surging out of him at 46 than did the oversize putter he waved jubilantly. "I wanted something with the largest possible moment of inertia and the smallest dispersion factor," he said at the time.

Sixty years ago. Bobby Jones never mentioned dispersion factors. He kissed his putter and called her Calamity Jane. "Sixty years ago," says Gene Sarazen, still slick-

says Gene Sarazen, still slicke, ered down and Knickered up and still playing agid at 86. "I had a rotten grip. If several to the still a still a still a still several to the still still a still still tilke a solid hinge on an oak door." Sararan gess back to hickory sticks that required shellacking in the rain, and is anused by the 80s fashion, which encompasses titunium shafts, tungsten fibers, beriplium-cupper, magatanese-bronze and "Jillium-cupper, magatanese-bronze and substitution of the still still substitution of the still substit

Of late, the modern player has been wringing his overlapped hands over something called square grooves. Though the U.S. Golf Association has demonstrated scientifically that the benefit of these ruggedly faced irons is negligible, even those traditionalists on tour who are



A Nicklaus totem or a magic wand?

offended by the idea of backspin out of the rough have been changing cudgels in selfdefense. "Golf clubs aren't only tools, they're totems," says Frank Hannigan of the U.S.G.A. "The game turns on

The Typhoid Mary of square grooves is a round Nebraskan named Mark Calcavecchia, 27, whose improvement over the past couple of summers suggests sorten

sery. Calcawechia caddied at the Honda Classic one year (1986) and won the tournament the next. On the crucial shot, he used a grooved 8-iron instead of a machete to gouge his way out of a particularly savage patch of vegetation. By reaching the green and, what's more, checking up to what's more, checking up to that simple goff ball became something of a superbullet. It

within ten feet of the hole, that simple golf ball became something of a superbullet. It nicked everybody else in the business.

On the subject of modern golf balls, es o many

Tom Watson worries that they travel too

Tom Watson worries that they travel too far. Lee Trevinot hinks that they go too straight. Grown men swear they saw Bernhard Langer hit a bull last year that was headed toward the Great Dismal Swamp when, suddenly, it corrected itself in midair before flying onward to the target. In addition to the perfect swing, the best golfers in the world are out searching for the self-correcting ball.

So, the worst players in the world are too. They're the ones being serviced by all the manufacturers (including Nicklaus) at a preposterous cost for space-age metals—but a reasonable one for magic. Illusions are priceless, and while spring may be in the air, it takes a little beryllium to really get it airborne. —By Tom Callabation.

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Cinema



Funeral March to a Calypso Beat

BEETLEJUICE Directed by Tim Burton Screenplay by Michael McDowell and Warren Skaaren

S oHo chic has come to Winter River. Charles and Delia Deetz are hosts of their premiere dinner party in the charming old Connecticut house they have just bought. The Deetzes' teenage daughter Lydia, who dresses like Carolyn Jones in The Addams Family, sulks in the corner The conversation fizzes, then fizzles: the guests shift uneasily. Time for a little ...

Day-o! Day-ay-ay-o! Daylight come and me wan' go home! What? Delia has risen and, to the astonishment of all, begun singing Harry Belafonte's banana-boat hit of 30 years past. Work all night on a drink of rum! Now the entire party, pulsing with the calypso beat, dances around the table like frenzied Jamaican dockworkers. Lift

six-foot, seven-foot, eight-foot bunch! Monstrous arms spring out of the shrimp tureens and leech onto the faces of the revelers. Who on earth has possessed them'

Must be the Maitlands-Adam (Alec Baldwin) and Barbara (Geena Davis)the ghosts of the house's previous owners, who died a while back and now reside in the attic. This nice postmortem couple is no happier than Lydia (Winona Ryder) to be trapped here with trendy Charles (Jeffrey Jones) and the unspeakable Delia (Catherine O'Hara). So the Maitlands have been trying to scare the Deetzes away. Sorry, kids. Go ahead and haunt these New Age parvenus; they'll just invite their friends to enjoy the kicky spectacle. The Maitlands need some serious help, perhaps from the lecherous demon (Michael Keaton) who pesters them with the slogan "Unhappy with Eternity? Call Betelgeuse." Beetlejuice to you.

Hard times have fallen on the facetious fantasy. A genre that flourished a few years ago (Gremlins, Ghostbusters) is now box-office poison (Innerspace, Made in Heaven). Moviegoers want their nightmares straight these days, with guns and badges attached. A pity, because there is life left in the comedy of the supernatural. The form can liberate narrative wit and design ingenuity; it encourages filmmakers to plunder all the medium's resources. to create something that can exist only in the movies. Check out, for instance. Beetlejuice's vision of the afterlife-it's hell as a strangled bureaucracy. In the waiting room, where the exit signs read NO EXIT, the dead still carry scars of their demise. A magician's assistant, who has been fatally sawed in half, occupies two seats on a couch. The social worker who runs the place is clearly overworked; she has an alarm on her wristwatch that plays Chopin's Funeral March in ricky-tick time.

Director Tim Burton (Pee-Wee's Big Adventure) has some poignant points to make about, well, life: that the dead must teach the living to savor it. Mostly, though, he wants to give good fun, to turn Winter River into West Eastwick, to ransack pop culture for references to everything from Topper to Tiny Alice. And to give Michael Keaton the chance to run productively wild. Keaton's Beetleiuice is a deliciously loathsome creature, whether shouting insults, lunching on insects or, in the film's climactic wedding scene, pulling a ring off a severed, shriveled finger and muttering to his bride, "I tell va, honev. she meant nuthin' to me at all." Beetlejuice means something good: that imaginative artists can bring a fading genre back from the dead. By Richard Corliss

Dead Letters

BRIGHT LIGHTS, BIG CITY Michael J. Fox is a cute guy and a skillful actor. McInerney's Bright Lights, Big City was a cute novel and a polished one when it was all the rage four years ago. Wrapping them up together was not an entirely unreasonable movie-packaging idea It arrives, however, looking like something that has been kicking around too long in the dead-letter office

McInerney found a singular voice in which to recount the drugged out misadventures of a young man named

Jamie as he wanders through the downtown Manhattan club scene at its early-'80s height. His book was written entirely in the second person and mostly in the present

tense. But there are no equivalents to these devices in the grammar of film. As a result, his screenplay lacks the bite of his original fiction.

What is left onscreen is a faithfully translated narrative. Jamie loses his job, loses his wife, uses his friends mostly in the pursuit of drugs. But his story is an attenuated one, and

Jamie turns into a terrible twit, alternately superior and self-pitying, especially with a sympathetic older colleague (Swoosie Kurtz) at the New Yorker-like magazine where

when it is told flatly, On the party line: Kurtz and Fox

both work. The fact that his mother loved him but died does not really excuse him. The fact that Fox brings the sympathy he has won, and the comic élan he has perfect-

ed, on television cannot restore Jamie to our good graces. The fact that James Bridges is a hopelessly unimaginative director finishes Jamie off. In the wake of this film's failure, one begins pondering Bright Lights. Big City's last line on McInerney's behalf: "You will have to learn everything all over again

By Richard Schickel





Viktoria Mullova and Anne-Sophie Mutter: ready to be judged on their accomplishments rather than their promise—or their sex

Music

Siren Songs at Center Stage

Women violinists of talent and temperament invade a male preserve

the yearm at first to have little in common, the wunderkind and the defector. One commands the stage like a young princess, volptuous in a strapless designer gown that accents the alluring curve of her shoulders and the luxurious corona of her billowing tresses. As Anne-Sophie Mutter lays her bow on the strings of her Stradivarius, the music manage of the stranger of the strate fills the air. "Music is a form of love, the highest form of love," he says. "It is passion."

The other woman is a tall, slender young spartan in a loose, kinnon-like black jacket and pants, her long, lank brown hair pulled back severely net strong Slavic features firmly set in contemplation of the coming battle. No makeup or jewelry lends even a hint of frivility to her appearance as she wraparance says her working to her appearance says her was the contemplation of the other land around the neck of her Strand prepares to stare down the ghost of Pagartinistic or start of the strand prepares to stare down the ghost of Pagartinistic notation, the plant of the music." If work better under pressure." she says. "I am more concentrated."

Together they make a contrapuntal étude. Mutter, 24, is a child of the prosperous West German bourgeoisie who grew up in a small town near the Black Forest and still returns frequently to visit her family. Mullova, 28, abandoned the gray streets and grayer bureaucracy of her native Moscow in 1983. Yet both women, currently in the forefront of young performers on their instrument, are emblematic of an inportant development in the world of concert music: the rise and triumph of the female solo violinist.

Mutter and Mullova are just two of the many women violinists of talent and temperament now gracing the world's stages. Korean-born Kyung-Wha Chung, 40, shared first prize in the Leventritt Competition with Pinchas Zukerman in 1967, and has since established herself as a major artist on the strength of her burnished tone and fiery passagework. Chung is a performer of great interpretative range and insight who can light up the night with a blazing Tchaikovsky concerto, probe the intimate, sorrowing mysteries of Alban Berg's twelve-tone essay in the form, or tackle Sir Edward Elgar's king-and-country Violin Concerto with equal aplomb. She also plays in a chamber trio with her sister Myung-Wha, a cellist, and her brother Myung-Whun, a pianist now making a career as a conductor

The burgeoning contingent of Asian performers also boasts the tiny 16-yearold Japanese prodigy Midori (born Midori Gotol, a student of noted Violin Teacher Dorothy DeLay at Juilliard. Midori's robust tone and strong technique—and her uncanny composure in the face of two broken strings during her performance of Leonard Bernstein's Servenade—stunned a Tanglewood audience on a muggy summer night two years ago at a Boston Symphony concert led by Bernstein.

Another DeLay student, the sloe-eyed, Roman-born Nadja Salerno-Sonnenberg, has had a rapid ascent since her 1981 victory in the Naumburg International Violin Competition. Salerno-Sonnenberg, 27, is a mediagenic performer hailed by some for her intensity ("the Edith Piaf of the violin," a colleague has called her) and scorned by others for the eccentric collection of tics, twitches and transports that form her onstage persona. But there is no gainsaying her vivid stage presence, or the enthusiasm with which she imbues her performances. Other noteworthy women violinists include the Kavafian sisters, Ani, 39, and Ida, 35, both adept soloists as well as chamber musicians, and the graceful Rumania-born Miriam Fried, 41.

Popular wisdom holds that virtuosity on any instrument is a hard-won proposition, the product of years of painstaking study and practice. Despite the evidence of such performers as the pathbreaking American Maud Powell around the turn of the century or the brilliant. Viennament, it also holds that the violin is properly a male preserve. But with age comes maturity, not mastery, and instruments are no respecters of gender. Atthough still young, today's crop of women violinists trather than promise—or sex.

The group is a formidable one. but right now it appears that Mutter and Mullova are in the ascendancy. Mutter and Mullova are in the ascendancy. Mutter for instrument, gleaning intonation, rige instrument, gleaning intonation, rige meanor. They seem to have come naturally. At age nine, Mutter coelly performed a solo Bach piece for Violinist Henry's Serying. The Polish-born master, dressed in shirt-deleves, first listened dis-descendent of the property of the property of the property of the polish-born master, and the property of the pro

hello to Uncle Henryk. Something similar happened when, at 13, she auditioned for Conductor Herbert von Karajan. After hearing her play a dazzling Bach Chaconne and some elegant Mozart, Karajan said, "We shall do a lot together." And they have, including many concerts and recordings of such staples as the Beethoven and Brahms concertos. "Playing with Karajan, there is an experience of sound you don't find elsewhere," notes Mutter. "It is musical breathing.

Lately. Mutter has been performing frequently with Cellist and Conductor Mstislav Rostropovich, both as a soloist with Rostropovich's National Symphony Orchestra in Washington and as twothirds of a string trio that includes Violist Bruno Giuranna. Speaking as one for whom the violinistic legerdemain of the two Prokofiev concertos holds no terrors, Mutter observes of her new mentor: "He is the only one who knows what was going on with Prokofiev when he wrote that music.

Mullova's path was not as charmed. At age nine she won entrance to Moscow's rigorous Central Music School, a two-hour commute from the family's home on the city's out-skirts. Just getting in was an accomplishment: the school, she says, is usually reserved for the children of famous musicians or of well-connected people. Her indisputable tall-ent eventually brought her to noted Soviet Volinist Londin to noted Soviet Volinist Londin the contractions of the children of the chi

Kogan, and to a shared gold medal in the 1982 Tchaikovsky International Competition. Like Kogan's, Mullova's somewhat austere playing is not to every taste, but her secure technique and impeccable musicianship bespeak a performer who prizes substance over style. What it needs now is a sense of fantasy and wonder—a whiff of perfume—to make it complete.

m hat deficiency may be in part owing to the rigid Soviet system, which Mullova says inhibited both her care prospects and her sprint. 'Life in the Soviet Union was spent like in a prison,' cased and direct, very much like her playing style, although she has loosened somewhat after frey ears in the West. The pain of separation from her family too has eased, with the emigration of her sister Ludmilla, who now lives with her American the control of the second with the wist list.

Mullova's defection was practically operatic. On a tour of Finland, she con-

trived to bring along her lover. Conductor Vakhtang Jordania, as her accompanist, despite the fact that Jordania was an indifferent and inexperienced pianist. The couple cluded their Soviet duenna, fleering by taxi across the Swedish border, and sought refuge at the American embassy in Stockholm. In the U.S., the great American publicity machine was enchanted by command of English Her career flourished while Jordania's languished, and the relationship faded.

Belying her intense, passionate approach to performing—the holds the stage like a diva—in private Mutter radiates ebullient charm and high spirits. Mutter, who will play 120 engagements this year, keeps an apartment in Monte Carlo, zips around in her Porsche 911 and relaxes by doing yoga, reading Agatha Christie and watching horror films, she istens with pleasure to jazz and rock, and distensive the passing to pazz and rock, and Gillespie after a concert in Paris. But her aproximation of the properties of the properties of the approach to the work remains sober,

"The key to being serious as a musician is humility," she observes. "If you play Mozart, you can't treat him like the guy next door."

Mullova's recordings for Philips (Tchaikovsky and Sibelius concertos with Seiji Ozawa and the Boston Symphony, Vivaldi's The Four Seasons with Claudio Abbado) are selling briskly. and her bookings-50 this season-are bright. Although she claimed to want the stimulus of a lively capital after the provincialism of Moscow, the hurly-burly of Manhattan became overwhelming for the still somewhat dour Russian. Today Mullova shares a comfortable furnished Vienna apartment near St. Stephen's Cathedral with Conductor Abbado, and travels

on an Austrian passport. Mullova rejects the familiar argument that women cannot have both a family and a career. "I don't see why not," she says, "I would like to continue just at the pace I'm going now. I want to progress slowly, as a musician and as a person, but I want to go up. Mutter declines to speculate about her private life, but about her career she is in harmony with Mullova. years from now, 30 years from now, I want more or less to be doing the same thing," she says. "Just better." Perhaps they are not so very different after all -By Michael Walsh. Reported by Gertraud Lessing/ Vienna and Nancy Newman/ New York

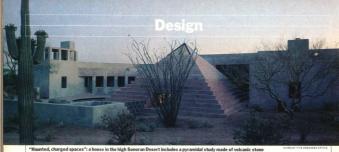






Kyung-Wha Chung, top, with Nadja Salerno-Sonnenberg and Midori

Burnished tone, mediagenic intensity and triumph on a summer night,



An Architect for the New Age

From out of the Southwest rides iconoclastic Antoine Predock

ntoine Predock is just not like other A major American architects. He looks like a gracefully aging tennis pro (tanned, fit, intense) and sometimes sounds like a Jungian therapist ("I get clients to explore their fantasies"). He lives in neither of the two U.S. Architect Belts (Boston-New York-Philadelphia, Los Angeles-San Diego), but in plain, out-of-the-way Albuquerque. His work is not strictly modernist or postmodernist, classical or avant-garde: the pigeonholes do not apply. Predock, a self-described "cosmic modernist" who senses the "emanations" of a particular building site and says only half jokingly that he "would rather talk about UFOs than Palladio," is nevertheless creating a remarkable body of worktough and sensual, fabulously imagined, altogether persuasive. He may be the first great New Age architect.

The larger world is beginning to recognize Predock's gifts. Last year he received an Honor Award from the American Institute of Architects, and he is busy now on six large-scale public commissions, four of them the result of worldclass competitions. "Almost all my new work is outside New Mexico," Predock says. "I fly so much now, I scale my drawings for airplane tray tables.

Stylistically, however, Predock has been militantly Southwestern. La Luz, his clustered adobe housing development built 21 years ago in Albuquerque, was a precocious masterpiece that reinvigorated overused Indian forms. The 1985 Robinson-Burney House not far away could be a prototype for Southwestern family dwellings: a "ranch house" worthy of the name.

Among the best of Predock's work is the 1985 Tesuque House, built on a desert ridge overlooking the gorgeous desolation north of Santa Fe. The house, like all his finest designs, is not a monolith but a suggestive collection of smaller pieces, here a kind of lyrical single-family mountain village consisting of separate stucco boxes for living room, guest room, master bedroom and kitchen. The forms are stark, but Predock's scheme-a casual zigzag arrangement that follows the terrain, roof lines that vary from flat to peaked to pyramidal, a restrained polychrome palette-mitigates austerity. Gravitas without menace. Predock's own favorite residential

work is the Fuller House, a more dramatic faux village finished two years ago in

the high Sonoran Desert near Phoenix. It is more determinedly "spiritual. portentous, even sci-fi. "I like haunted, charged spaces," Predock explains. Inside is a polished black granite fountain from which water runs in a narrow, razor-straight canal outdoors, across a plaza and into a circular pool. There is a pavilion for watching sunrises at the east end, another for staring at sunsets in the west. The study is a stepped pyramid of volcanic stone, topped with a skylight. Yet

for all the house's risky paradox-B-movie imagery conceived with restraint and accomplished with first-rate production values-it succeeds breathtakingly. Shirley MacLaine would be happy here, but so, maybe, would Mies van der Rohe

Because his early interior plans are plotted out in extraordinary detail, Predock wins over big institutional clients despite his New Age enthusiasms. When he presented his design for a \$24 million California State Polytechnic University Pomona project to the competition jury, for instance, he included floor-by-floor maps of the buildings' interior ambience-a singular synthesis of engineering and intuition. On a low-rise roof at Pomona, he wants to plant grass and graze sheep. "They think I'm kidding," says Predock. He is smiling, but he isn't kidding.

Predock says he talks about UFOs and 'magic lines of power" mainly "to disorient myself and my colleagues so new thoughts can enter into the soup." He is open to a wider, wilder array of ideas than any of his successful peers. Predock's great accomplishment lies not just in deeply absorbing eclectic influences ranging from Italian hill towns to science-fiction movies, but also in rarely letting one idea overwhelm the rest. And his sensible, good old Ameri-

canism, counterbalances his spacier side. On old Route 66 at Albuquerque's southwest edge is the Beach, a Navajo-blanketpatterned, neon-emblazoned apartment complex that despite the glitz has a strong sense of urbanity, a function of the labyrinth of outdoor stairways and

One Predock building is strikingly different from the next. In La Jolla, Calif., his university theater is to have a 27-ft.-high mirror appended to the



um at the University of Wyoming will be a stone cone, suggesting a Teton or a tepee. His lack of a signature style is born of a faith in the uniqueness of each project. Predock believes that if he contemplates the client's requirements and experiences the site intensely enough, the right building will emerge. "This is an adventure. he explained to a couple who asked him to design a house. "It's a poetic encounter." - By Kurt Andersen/Albuquerque

Books

When the Outrageous Is the Norm

THE HOUSEGUEST by Thomas Berger; Little, Brown; 240 pages; \$16.95

A June Sunday dawns at Doug and Austracy Graves' summer house, which sits on choice island properly that has been in Dougs. As in spending the weekend at this retreat, away from the city where he deem at the retreat, away from the city where he deem at the pulliance of the complete of the pulliance of the complete of the pulliance of the complete o

their unprepossessing son bothoy and stranger he introduces as his new stranger he introduces as his new ia, nee Di Salvo, the daughter of a prosperous private trash collector, will be able to live up to the lofty standards of manners and deportment that prevail in the Graves farmily. Still, the weather is sump and warm enough to souther implicit tensions. And everyone is looking forprepared by the houseguest of the past week, Chuck Burgoyne.

Nothing in this scene overtly suggests the imminence of comic catastrophe. But experienced readers of Thomas Berger will immediately put on their crash helmets and fasten the safety belts. Newcomers are advised to follow suit. The Houseguest, Berger's 15th novel, picks up some of the pieces scattered by the explosive anarchy of his Neighbors (1980). Once again, an apparently stable domestic setting warps and buckles into chaos, and kindred characters struggle to adjust to a world in which the outrageous has suddenly become the norm

The first thing that goes awry, this fine Studday morning is that Chuck oversleeps, leaving the promised breakfast unmade and each of the Graveses peckish and unsettled. When he finally appears, the man who has so far embodied "Doug's idea of a perfect houseguest in all ways" behaves oddly, He takes advantage of a moment alone with Doug to confide that one of Doug's confider that one of Doug to confide that one of Doug to confide that one of Doug to confide that one of Doug to the confider of the confider of the confideration of

your part. I'll see it's taken care of."
Chuck's information leaves
Doug profoundly embarrassed and a
little confused: "With all respect to
the young man, it did not seem right
that he would assume authority in
this matter." Indeed, the effrontery
rapidly escalates, Before long,
Chuck is in Doug's bedroom de-

manding a signed blank check and displaying (accidentally?) a holstered revolver strapped around his ankle. Doug is shaken by this experience. "How's that for a Sunday at the shore?" he complains to his daughter-in-law. "You can get your head blown off for no reason, by a houseguest you don't even know."

It turns out that none of the Graveses has invited Chuck; each assumes that he is another's friend. By the time they make this discovery, though, it may be too late.

El this discovery, though, it may be too late. | gree

Excerpt

"In your position I would swallow a little of my pride and at least debate the issue, if only to save my skin. — How dare you not give us any argument? Do you think it's somehow morally superior to let us do away with you without making any defense of your position?" He shook his fist at the recumbent prisoner. 'Do you think it's easy for us? Do you think we make a habit of killing our guests?"

Chuck's smile broadened. 'You mean you don't?' vidual family members, Chuck seems to be planning something supremely unpleasant for the Graveses as a group. Both phone lines are mysteriously out of order, and neither of the two cars on the isolated premises will start. What is to happen when night falls? At this point, Berger turns his prepos-

Having committed improprieties ranging from theft to sexual assault against indi-

At this point, Berger turns his preposterous tale upside down. Emphasis shifts from the marauding intruder to the beleaguered defenders of house and home: compared with his avenging victims, Chuck begins to seem positively sane and benign. "Look," Doug argues, "this man has abused our hospitality! Can there be a greater crime?" This rallying cry comes

after Chuck has been ambushed and trussed up, and the decision has been made to haul him out to the swiming pool and drown him. When the helpless victim-to-be makes a pro-occative remark, he gets a stinging rebuke: "Shut up, you rat!" ordered bobby, jerking Chuck at the armpit. 'You don't know anything about the way decent people act!"

As it happens, neither Chuck nor The Houseguest concludes in a watery death. Berger's tricks and surprises keep accumulating until the acerbic end. But some literalists will wonder. What is the meaning of all this? Surely these surface improbabilities add up to something real? The author tosses out some hints that there may be method in Chuck's madness, an assault by the lower classes on idle, etiolated rich people like Doug and Audrey. At one point the housequest reveals that he is related to the Finches, a raggedy clan of year-round islanders who do menial jobs for the summer residents. Is Chuck the vanguard, as Doug begins to suspect, of a "peasant uprising"? Surrounded by his angry hosts, Chuck mounts a vigorous verbal defense: "I wasn't born to privilege . . . Nor did I marry into it. I had to hack my own way up out of the swamp, with damn little help from anybody.

Readers who take Chuck at his word will probably believe anything. It was such gullibility, after all, that led Doug, Audrey, Bobby and Lydia into nightmarish folly. In truth, The Houseguest harbors no hidden messages that can stand up to reasoned analysis. The novel instead is a rare example of buoyantly irresponsible comedy, a piling up of non sequiturs for the pure pleasure of creating progressive confusion. At his best, as he is here. Thomas Berger can command attention solely as a lonely, insidious voice insisting, in a stage whisper, that fiction can be stranger -By Paul Gray than truth

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Bookends

THE HEARTS AND LIVES OF MEN by Fay Weldon Viking: 357 pages: \$18.95



British Author and Playwright Fay Weldon has taken a giddy leap back to the fiction style of the 19th century. Enough of angst and ambiguity, of literary experiment. Bring on Trollope's nudging

narrator and Dickens' moral confidence. The Hearts and Lives of Men-surely a Victorian novelist would have come up with a livelier title-is nonetheless set in modern times, specifically the fast-track London art world of the '60s and '70s. It covers 23 years in the lives of Clifford and Helen Wexford, an attractive, careless pair who marry, remarry, have messy affairs, manage to lose track of their little girl for a 14-year span-and still retain the reader's sympathy. Perhaps because the author is a longtime feminist. Helen, who finally conquers her passive instincts and makes an independent life for herself, comes off rather better than her domineering, pigheaded husband.

But Weldon is more interested in cleverness than character. Her gabby narrator, a woman in the Wexfords' social circle. buckets along, throwing motivation and consistency to the winds in favor of little epigrams and bitchy asides ("She looked like a Christmas cracker with no present inside"). Weldon even produced this flighty nonsense the old-fashioned way: in weekly installments for the British magazine Woman. The Hearts and Lives of Men will make superior feminist beach reading.

THE BEAUTIFUL ROOM IS EMPTY by Edmund White Knopf: 228 pages: \$17.95



In his 1982 semimemoir, A Boy's Own Story, Edmund White came as close as anyone has to producing the Great American Gay Novel. Its depiction of sexual awakening was vividly specific, yet its emotional terrain-initial delight

leading to guilt and alarm at the strange new force in one's life-might have evoked adolescence for almost any reader. The Beautiful Room Is Empty, a sequel that takes White into young manhood, is at once clumsier and much more ambitious. At times as pretentious as the title, derived from Kafka, it trots out a succession of irritatingly self-indulgent characters and a clutch of clichés about the 1950s, from the bohemian belle to the poet turned adman. Yet White can always save a wearying passage with some aperçu about himself or some chillingly uninflected glimpse of cruelty. And if his protracted tale about coming out seems dated, that merely reflects White's master plan: he aims at nothing less than a social history of emerging gay consciousness from the suppressed 1950s through the '60s. In the era of AIDS, White's novel is a fiercely remembered plea not to push gays back into the closet.

NOTHING TO DECLARE by Mary Morris Houghton Mifflin: 250 pages: \$18.95



A woman who travels alone, says Adventurer Mary Morris, "should know how to strike a proud pose, curse like a sailor, kick like a mule, and," she advises, "you mustn't be a fool." Especially when

your roads lead way off the

beaten track. Morris is not one for a luxury cruise. Instead she opts for danger and discomfort. Nothing to Declare is a memoir of her travels in Central America, which she explores in the tradition of truth through squalor, using a Mexican slum as a base camp. Despite occasional lapses into overstudied eloquence, she is a fascinating guide, with an eve for the brutal, the garish. the silly and bizarre. At a Mayan market in the Yucatán, Morris is tempted by giant beetles being sold as pets. "They were dressed as cowboys with small hats, boots on their legs, soldiers in camouflage, and women of the night, with long eyelashes and pink satiny skirts . . . I had no idea what I'd do with a pet beetle in my travels. so I resisted and kept going." The energy of her motion carries the reader with her

by Rachel Ingalls Simon & Schuster; 224 pages; \$15.95

BINSTEAD'S SAFARI



Anthropologist Stan Binstead is en route from New England to the African bush to search for a lionworshiping cult. In London a friend dismisses the sect as "just an oldfashioned protection rack-

et." Stan insists it could be the start of a new religion. Ordinarily, the safari would also enable Stan to indulge his favorite pastime, philandering, but his drab wife Millie insists on coming along. In Rachel Ingalls' tale of transformations, the ill-used wife falls in love with a dashing game warden who is believed to possess the qualities of the lion he once killed in a tribal rite. The affair works its magic, and Millie blossoms, while Stan falters in his search. The warden is killed by poachers, but then a beautiful lion begins haunting the safari camp. The plot takes incredible turns, but Fabulist Ingalls (Mrs. Caliban), an American who has lived in London for 24 years, glides, with sly humor, into the fantastic so deftly that she makes events seem not only plausible but inevitable.

anufacturers of major appliances, beware! Purveyors of pots and pans. pay heed! Home cooking may be on the verge of obsolescence. Long the gleaming altar of the household, the great American kitchen could soon resemble a deserted mining town in Colorado. Any minute now, the tumbleweed may roll in

Or perhaps the kitchen will be turned to other uses entirely. "I'd like to put a take-out means pizza, chicken or burgers from fast-food chains, or a Chinese or Mexican meal—or, of course, frozen or vacuum-bagged fodder from the supermarket. But these days there is a huge variety of fresh take-out food for the weary shopper. Many supermarkets offer wide menus that include not only kaleidoscopic salad bars but also many tony dishes just cooked in-house. The newly spruced-up



treadmill in mine and use it as an exercise room," said a busy real estate agent who was buying her take-out dinner at Grace's Marketplace in New York City. It is just such foods-and such satisfied shoppers—that are responsible for the current flight from the stove. Eighty-one percent of American households buy take-out food within each four-week period, ac-cording to a study for the Food Marketing Institute and the Campbell Soup Co. These buyers are about as likely to be men as to be women, mostly between the ages of 18 and 54, and they tend to belong to all but the lowest income levels

The appeal of easy, fresh food is not hard to understand. Exhausted by daily schedules that include work and working out, tired and hungry wage earners crave the instant satisfaction of ready-made meals. Even the hassle of restaurants is too much for the weariest workers, who prefer the barefoot comforts of home. Some may make the effort to arrange the dinner on a plate and eat at a set table, but many, if not most, just dip plastic forks into foil or Styrofoam containers and collapse in front of the TV screen

At its most familiar and plebeian,

Rice Epicurean Market in Houston offers roasted Cornish hens and beef Wellington, and it will steam lobsters to order as a customer goes about other shopping. The menu at the seven Treasure Island supermarkets in the Chicago area ranges from Greek spinach pie to fried chicken and ribs, turkey with gravy and mashed potatoes, and beef brisket. The Giant Food chain has responded to the growing market by setting up Gourmet to Go sections in 30 of its 144 stores in Maryland, Virginia and Washington.

At two to three times the price of comparable homemade dishes, the fare is hardly cheap, but customers feel that convenience and the ability to buy only the amount needed for a single meal are worth the cost. There is stiff competition between take-out sources, so much so that last year New York's D'Agostino chain hired a graduate chef from the Culinary Institute of America to oversee its new prepared-food operation. With such talent, D'Agostino hopes to whet the appetites-and curiosity-of New Yorkers accustomed to such entrenched take-out sources as Balducci's, Grace's Marketplace and upscale supermarkets. Raley's

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Food

in Northern California, out to trim fat profits from local Chinese restaurants. placed five chefs at a hot-wok counter to stir-fry such wonders as Peking ribs and kung pao chicken.

The purveyors of take-out food do not always do their own cooking. Although most ready-to-eat dishes are made in store kitchens or in large central commissaries of supermarket chains, some takeout food departments shop at other sources. They may buy ethnic specialties to supplement their own production or pour prepared soup into electrified tureens or, like Fairway in New York City

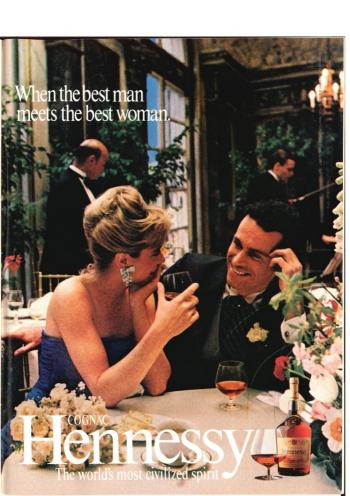


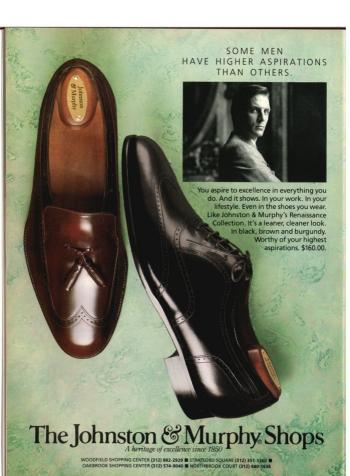
buy everything ready-made. What they offer is, in fact, retaken-out meals.

Despite the advantages of convenience foods, there are some sobering negatives. No longer will family members come home to the warmly reassuring aromas of dinner simmering on the stove. And diverse though the array of take-out foods may be, inevitably there seems to be a sameness-the endless curls and squiggles of cold pastas, the curried or dilled chicken salads and the pans of wilting zucchini and string beans swimming in oil. Then there is the dominant flavorcall it take-out-owing perhaps to bottled dressings or sauces underseasoned to appeal to the mass palate. Gone are the idiosyncratic subtleties of family recipes.

But perhaps there is cause for hope Many people who buy take-out food on workdays take to the stove on special occasions. "I cook for out-of-town friends or when my boyfriend comes over," says Gerri Brownstein, 25, a New York advertising-sales representative. Brownstein may be remembering an observation made by Thomas Wolfe. "There is no spectacle on earth more appealing than that of a beautiful woman in the act of cooking dinner for someone she loves," he wrote in The Web and the Rock. Somehow, the act of reheating dinner seems a lot less appealing. -By Mimi Sheraton. Reported by JoAnn Lum/New York, with other

TIME. APRIL 11, 1988





Theater





Harrowing memories and everyday joys: Lindo and Hall in Joe Turner; Tony Winners Mary Alice and James Earl Jones in Fences

Exorcising the Demons of Memory

August Wilson exults in the blues and etches slavery's legacy

ugust Wilson was only 15 when he A stormed out of school forever. After quitting a Roman Catholic academy, where white pupils harassed him because he was black, and then a vocational program he considered academically worthless, he made one last try at a public high school. But when he proudly submitted a 20-page report on Napoleon, the teacher accused him of having it ghostwritten by an older sister. That confrontation ended with Wilson defiantly shredding the essay. "The next day," he recalls, "I went and played basketball outside the principal's window, obviously in the unconscious hope someone would ask why I wasn't in class. No one did and that was that."

Fortunately for the American theater, the end of Wilson's schooling was not the end of his education. He haunted the local libraries, reading everything from anthropology to verse, and eventually began to try his own hand at writing, first poetry, then folktale adaptations for performance at a science museum, then plays. By the time Wilson, 42, brought his poignant Joe Turner's Come and Gone to Broadway last week, he had established himself as the foremost dramatist of the American black experience. His Broadway debut, Ma Rainey's Black Bottom, ran nearly ten months and earned the 1985 New York Drama Critics Circle prize. Fences won the theater's triple crown-the 1987 Tony, Pulitzer Prize and Critics Circle award-and is still playing, having set a record for nonmusicals by grossing \$11 million its first year. Wilson is not a "black" playwright in

the sense the term was applied in the confrontational 1960s and '70s. He movingly evokes the evolving psychic burden of slavery but without laying on guilt or political harangues. The son of a largely absent white father and a devoted, enterprising black mother whom he revered, Wilson keeps his white characters at the periphery, yet emphasizes the humanity that binds Americans together. Although his vision is steeped in sadness, it is equally rich in humor and wonder at the everyday joys of living, from the umpteenth retelling of a beloved family anecdote to a mock-scandalized peek through the window at the neighbors, from the swing of a

Wilson: mellowed anger and matter-of-fact success

An emphasis on "how the past must inform your future.

baseball bat to the cradling of a newborn child. Like the blues music he threads through them, his plays transcend ethnicity. Playgoers of any race who come as emotional tourists depart realizing they have seen themselves reflected onstage.

In person, Wilson seems as gentle and contemplative as his plays. He frets about a "whole generation [of black youths] that has not learned to read," but offers neither sweeping solutions nor invective. He was not always so mellow. Drawn to the Black Power movement in the 1960s, he helped found a volunteer troupe in his native Pittsburgh that mounted the incendiary works of LeRoi Jones. "I tried to write myself, but I wasn't any good at dialogue," he says-a surprising judgment for a playwright whose characters speak with color and dialectal authenticity. Within a few years Wilson was hatching the idea for a whole cycle of dramas, reflecting black life in each decade of this century. In 1982, through the playwright-

development program al Connectius's O'Neill Theater Center, he met Lloyd Richards, dean of Yale's drama school, who offered the plays a home—staging, them of Yale's draters of their collaborations, depicts a 1920s blues singer who deals with segregation by staying fiercely within a black subculture. Fences, set in the 1950s on the eve of the civil former baseball player, too old for the majors when the color bar felt may be the color for the majors when the color bar felt me

Joe Turner, Wilson's third major work, is a sprawling ensemble piece, full of grace notes and epiphanies. It takes place in a Pittsburgh boardinghouse in 1911 where the tenants are mostly drifters in work and love: they act as aimless as if newly freed, though they are much too young to have been slaves themselves. The dramatic center is Delroy Lindo's harrowing performance as the one driven character, Herald Loomis. Poor and desperate, clutching his painfully thin eleven-year-old daughter, he bursts in seeking his wife, whom he lost years before when he was taken captive by Joe Turner-an actual figure who tricked blacks into servitude long after emancipation. Despite this historical reference, Joe Turner works by intuition more than logic. At the end, when Loomis seems pathetically shorn of his consuming purpose. Ed Hall, as the most spiritual boarder, perceives in him instead the "shiny man" of a folkloric religious vision. In that moment, spectators too find themselves transported from pity to admiration: Loomis has transformed his pointless suffering into an ennobling search for life's meaning

Wilson's fourth opus, The Piano Lesson, has already been produced at Yale. Like Joe Turner, it marries a naturalistic slice of life with mystic imagery. Set in 1936, it portrays a clan divided between struggling toward independence in the rural South and seeking a new life in the urban North, and it ends with a ritual exorcism. In a sense, all Wilson's plays are exorcisms, doomed but determined attempts to drive out the demons of memory. Says he: "The stigma of slavery is powerful. A few years ago, I went to a Passover service, and the first words were 'We were slaves in the land of Egypt.' They are remembering events of thousands of years ago, not just a century. My work is about how the past must inform your future.

Wilson says he has a "thing" about not going into rehearsal for one play until the next is written. The night before Yale stard staging Plano Lesson last October, he drafted the first scene of Two Trains, Running, set in 1968. It is to play at Yale whenever Wilson can finish it, in between revisions on Plano Lesson and a screen-play for Feneces to star Eddie Murphy,

heater sources estimate that Wilson carned more than 57 million last year.

"Success has not changed me," he says in success has not changed me, he says in the same carned 1970 Me. The same carned

In all Wilson's work, his keen awareness of black America's pairful past is balanced with an emphasis on the possibalanced with an emphasis on the possibalanced with an emphasis on the possibalanced with a many state of the possible of the
self-who he say, "gave up on school balt
not on life," the adult August Wilson sees
self-who he language with a separate
who challenged me on that paper and
made me quit is still around," he muses.
"He knows what became of my life. It
would be nice to say that he wrote and
work of the possible of the
would be nice to say that he wrote and
mover happened." — By Willon A. Henry M

Video



Friedman, top, with Anchors Walker, Young, Macatee and Magnus: no meat and potatoes

Get Ready for McRather

A TV version of USA Today is sparking interest and worry

When Washington's movers and shakers get home from a hard day at work and switch on Cits for the 7 o'clock work, they get TV's equivalent of the New York Times or Washington Post: a sober (if succinct) look at the day's events. Come next September, however, those viewers will be a built on the real the for which we have the compared to the real the last of the compared to the post of the different sort of news show, based on a different sort of news show, based on a

Though still five months away from its scheduled debut, a new syndicated show inspired by the colorful, low-calorie newspaper is causing a stir in TV circles. Like its print model, the USA Today TV show will be a fast-paced potpourri of news and features, divided into four sections: money, sports, life and USA (hard news). Except for one "cover story" of four minutes or so, the pieces will be brief and numerous (about 35 a half-hour).
This broadcast spin-off of "McPaper"— McRather, perhaps?-has impressive parentage: it comes from GTG Entertainment, the new company headed by ex-NBC Chairman Grant Tinker (in partnership with Gannett, USA Today's publisher), and is being produced by Steve Friedman, the respected former executive producer of NBC's Today show

The show is selling briskly: II 8 stations, covering 84% of the country, have bought it thus far, and most plan to air it in the lucrative hour just before prime time, when game shows like Wheel of Fortune predominate. What bothers network news executives, however, is the decision by Washington's WUSA-TV (also owned by Gannett) to push the C185 Evening Newsu pb 30 minutes to make room make room

for it. New York City's WCBS-TV is expected to make the same move. These stations can keep more of the ad revenues with a syndicated show in that time slot than with a network program, but risk reducing the audience for network news by shifting it to a less-watched time period.

USA Today's creators insist that their show is not competing with network news. "Television is a menu." says Friednam, and not everything has to be meat tions that the video dessert tray is not in keeping with the tonier series (The Mary Tyler Moore Show, Hill Street Bluex) he has been identified with. "My definition of apposite the vision show," he says, "so in The chief grage for USA Today is view.

ers who have already heard or seen the day's top news and want an extra helping of follow-up stories and features. A presentation videotage indicates that the show will allities, opinion polls and stray factoids (24% of all married people say they have a secret that would destroy their marriage). The show will have is cown staff but will draw on the newspaper for ideas and preview some The format and main studio in Ross-

lyn, Va., are still under construction. But four network-credentialed anchors— NBC's Bill Macatee and Robin Young and ABC's Edie Magnus and Kenneth Walker—have been hired, and Friedman sounds confident that he has caught the next video wave. Says he: "This is television for the '90', "Gillp.—By Rehard Englis. Reported by Jonathus Besty/Los Angeles and William Trans/New York.



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In 1980, when nothing came between Brooke Shields and her Calvins, Photographer Richard Avedon was there-behind the camera. Eight years later, Shields, sans Calvins, is back with the photographer. The reunion is part of Revlon's "most unforgettable women in the world" campaign. In Avedon's previous entries, such top-flight models as Paulina Porizkova, Iman and Jerry Hall have had to share ad space with one another. Not Shields. Avedon composes three faces of the model turned actress turned Princeton grad into a spectacular triptych. Says Shields: "I never realized that I

could look three times better.

Don't talk to Debi Thomas about ice follies. She's fallen often enough as it is. First, a slip in the Calgary Olympics. then at the World Figure Skating Championships in Budapest. "The enthusiasm wasn't there," the U.S. champion said. "I just wanted to get on with other things in life." After taking the bronze in Budapest March 26, Thomas, 21, announced that she had fallen yet again-this time in love. On March 15 she had secretly married Brian Vanden Hogen, 23. a physical-therapy student at the University of Colorado, in a civil ceremony in Boulder. Last week they honeymooned on Captiva Island in the Gulf of Mexi-

As Ronald Reagan's chief spokesman until February 1987, Larry Speakes saw much and said little. No longer. Now a Merrill Lynch ex- Debi and Brian: getting on with things ecutive Speakes is hawk-

co. where, fortunately,

no ice forms.

ing Speaking Out (Scribners; \$19.95), a behind-the-scenes look at the Reagan presidency. The foibles are the fun part. There is a stony Nancy Reagan insisting that Speakes describe the scab on her husband's nose as a "picked" pimple rather than the result of a biopsy. There is former National Security Director Robert McFarlane infuriating ex-Chief of Staff Donald Regan by sneaking pa-

People Brooke by Avedon: together again and again and again

pers into the President's briefing folder. In a cameo, George Bush dithers, "Well, is this really what the President wants me to do? I don't want to do anything that he doesn't want me to do." For his part,



Speakes ranks Reagan above the previous five Presidents. "Frankly," he says, "I don't think the man can tell a lie." But, he adds, Reagan can believe "something is true when it really isn't."

"I've had my setbacks." Richard Nixon said in 1986. "Some of them were self-inflicted, but you can't spend all

your time looking back." After nearly three years of importuning by NBC, the ex-President has finally decided to submit to direct questioning on TV. On April 10, viewers of Meet the Press will be treated

to the longest TV interview Nixon has given in six years. His interrogators will include NBC Anchor Tom Brokaw and Chief Political Commentator John Chancellor. Sequestered in his New Jersey home, Nixon works four hours a day poring over the classics, philosophy and history. He has a world of onestions to anticipate," says an aide. "It's a very solitary process."

While taking in the Caribbean sun, York Post Syndicated Gossip Columnist Suzy became the center of a

storm brewed by James Revson, her new rival at New York Newsday. Two weeks ago, Revson denounced Suzy (a.k.a. Aileen Mehle) for reporting a Metropolitan Museum of Art gala as if she had been there, when in fact she wrote her story from press releases. In his piece, titled "Desperately Seeking Suzy," Revson, who was at the party, gloated, "I want Suzy's iob . . . She doesn't even have to leave the house." Last week Suzy struck back. Calling Revson a "rat." "liar." "ierk. "snake" and "nut," she warned, "You may be desperately sorry you found me." She did, however, acknowledge her absence: "I'm wonderful, but how can I go to 2,000 parties a year?" Suzy says she won't be fazed by Revson's presence at galas she attends. Still, high society had best prepare for stormy nights ahead. - By Howard G. Chua-Eoan Reported by David E. Thigpen/



Suzy in her working gear



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